

BACKWARD .. GLANCES.

BY
THOMAS B. SMITH.



HALIFAX, N. S. :
JAMES BOWES & SONS, PRINTERS, HOLLIS STREET,
1898.

Entered according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the Year
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Eight
By THOMAS B. SMITH,
At the Department of Agriculture.

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With the Author's
Complements



Dedication.

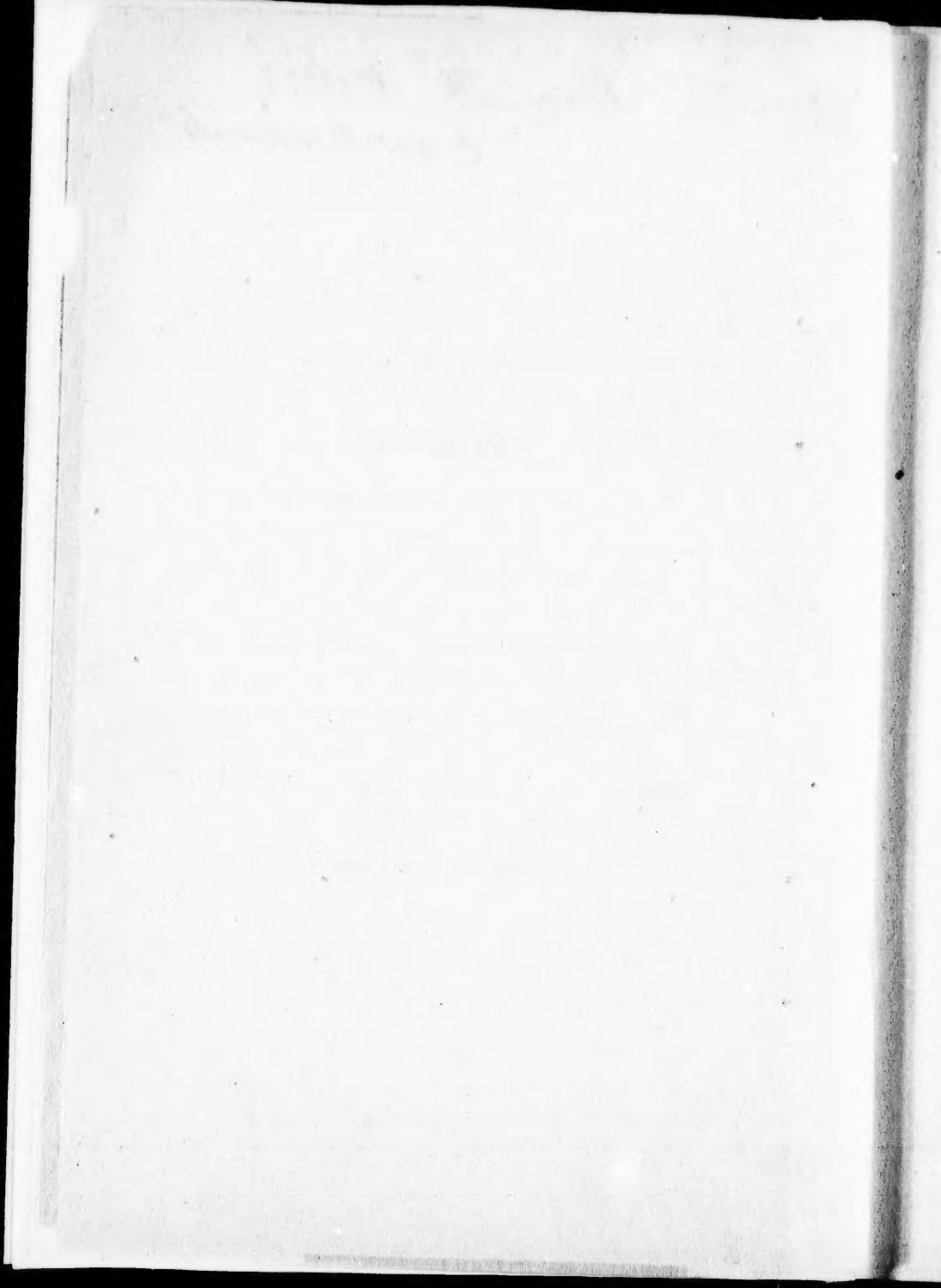
*I Dedicate this Book
To*

*The many Friends in my Native County
At*

*Whose Homes I have been so hospitably entertained
And*

*With whom I have enjoyed so many conversations
The
Memory of which I shall always Dearly Cherish.*





INTRODUCTION.

DURING many pleasant conversations with friends belonging to both political parties, I have often been surprised at the limited information of persons regarding the actions of some of the men who were the founders of confederation.

Party lines appeared to have hidden the real truth from them. Some of the men who were prominent actors in advancing the Union would be denounced with great rancour, while others who worked shoulder to shoulder with them to accomplish the same object were as greatly praised.

One set of these men were considered the great enemies of Nova Scotia, the other, special friends of the province. Party leaders were judged from merely party stand points. The opinion seemed to be, that if it had not been for the conservative party there would have been no confederation.

While there may be some truth in this opinion, in reference to a portion of the conservative party of Nova Scotia, it is also true that the Clear Grit Party of Canada was as determined in its struggle, as the Canadian Conservative party to bring about Confederation, and drag Nova Scotia into the Union.

In the following chapters of this work most of the facts were obtained from valuable documents, which had been carefully preserved for

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many years. Those papers unfortunately with a valuable library were swept out of existence in a few minutes, by the disastrous fire last fall. Several of the chapters of the original manuscript of the work were lost at the time, and have been re-written from memory alone, and are consequently not as fully complete as the original.

The book is written to please no political party, but to bring to light real facts, and place, in brief, the authors of Confederation in their proper positions. The exercise of independent judgment is the only proper mode of arriving at a sound opinion.

Whatever the reader may consider the merits of the work, and he may consider them of little account, I trust no one will accuse me with unfairness: My aim has been from the beginning to the end, to state as briefly and clearly, as far as possible, the whole truth from a purely unprejudiced and independent standpoint.

I offer the book to the public, trusting that some of the rising generation as well as some others may find a little instruction in it, and perhaps also some things interesting and entertaining.

These Backward Glances have not been confined strictly to the passing in of Confederation.

THOMAS BARLOW SMITH.

CHAPTER I.

Home and Native Land.

The place of one's birth and its name are always dear to him. The name of no other locality sounds as sweet and no other country is as loved.

It matters not where he breathed the first breath of native air, whether in a fisherman's cottage within sound of the ocean's solemn roll, or amid green and fertile plains, or near the meandering pathway on the rugged mountain's side, or midst the stillness of a vast forest, no matter where, it is the place of his birth and boyhood, unforgotten and dearly cherished through all his years.

The little log cabin by the river's side, and the thatched cottage near the lonely country road have far more attractions for the ones born there than the most beautiful buildings in the whole world, and more interesting incidents circle about them than the most thrilling events of a thousand years which surround the historic places and castles of any land.

“ If solid happiness we prize
Within ourselves this jewel lies,
And they are fools who roam.

This world has nothing to bestow ;
From out ourselves our joy must flow,
And that dear hut our home.”

There subsists a relation between a people and the country they have inhabited for hundreds of years. The physical character of a country, and in some instances its surroundings, appear to influence in a great degree the moral and physical character of its inhabitants, and thus to a certain extent determine their history.

The history of the people of Nova Scotia does not show that they were ever anxious for a union with any of the other British provinces. If any union would have been considered desirable by the inhabitants, it would undoubtedly have been a union with New Brunswick, to which province Nova Scotia is connected by a narrow neck of land, and with, perhaps, Prince Edward Island, which seems to nestle almost in the lap of the former provinces. All the people of the three provinces are essentially the same in their origin.

Nature has placed Nova Scotia in an isolation almost as splendid as that of Great Britain. In their almost sea-girt home, the children sprung from the mother land, felt that they owned a little England of their own, and had lost none of the thoroughly independent character of their ancestors, who as Britons were determined to rule within themselves. Britons in no sense would be governed from without, and would never allow any interference in their own affairs by any race on the continent of Europe, no matter how closely they might have been

allied to any such race in origin or in character. They cherished above everything else their isolated independence, and in this respect Nova Scotians were not unlike them. Nova Scotia became as dear to Nova Scotians as England or Scotland to their fathers. They honored the name of their province as highly as the latter did those of their own countries. When it was proposed to allow the word "England" or "English" to swallow up "Scotland" or the "Scotch" by giving both countries one name, that of England, the anger of all patriotic Scotchmen was aroused. They petitioned Her Majesty not to allow the word "England" or "English" to swallow up "Scotland" or the "Scotch."

A writer to assuage the anger of Scotchmen suggested that the United Kingdom should be given the new name of Britannia. That name would embrace all and everybody. Her Majesty would then be called the Queen of Britannia, and all would be Britons. But the Scotchmen clung to the words Scotland and Scotch as dearly as they clung to the kilt. They considered it a mortal sin to make this new departure. To take away by Act of Parliament "Scotland" and "Scotch," words in which they were conceived, and in which they were born, without their free consent would be an act of tyranny coupled with the creed of slaves.

A Highland soldier at the time said something like the following: "Let a general address a Scottish regiment as follows: 'Britons,' your intrepidity, bravery and victory have this day won immortal honors for Britannia and yourselves, and the praises of Her Majesty the Queen and of all Britons will be showered upon you." These words, he said, would perhaps stir the men with pride.

But let him say: "'Scotchmen!' 'Highlanders!' your gallantry and success in the field this day have again crowned you with fresh laurels and glory, and England, like Scotland, rings with your praises. In you the world has once more seen what Scotland can produce and the Scottish race can perform. Highlanders! Scotchmen! on your banners rests eternal fame. Your deeds of valor are this day unsurpassed by any race of men. You, sons of Scotland!" Here the general would be obliged to stop his address, the men would be so moved with the allusion to their country, their name, and their deeds, that they could no longer restrain their proud impetuosity which, like a pent up stream, was ready to burst every barrier and bear down every obstacle in its course.

George the Third, in the first speech he addressed to Parliament, said he gloried in the name of Britain, and he was the first English-born King of the family chosen by Act of

Parliament to reign over Briton. And some one has asked the question :

How much greater would be the glory of one in the name "Scotchman," "Irishman" or "Englishman," belonging to either race whose ancestors for a thousand years had been called "Irishmen," "Englishmen" or "Scotchmen?"

Even the songs or airs of each country touch and stir the feelings of each race in its own way. The longer a people dwell in a country, the more they seem to become part and parcel of it. The thistle is as dear to Scotchmen as the white or red rose to Englishmen, or the shamrock to Irishmen. And as the three in one have become the emblem of the unity of the three races, so each in turn inspires to actions high the race it represents.

Clusters of rich associations cling about these emblems, both in their united and separate form, and a look at them has sometimes sent a thrill of glory-streamed enthusiasm through a regiment of men, and shown their love of country to be as firm and pure as ever. The very fact of the British army being composed of the three races has made it a terror to other nations, because each race, filled with the spirit of emulation, strives with all its powers and mighty hope to share in equal honors, and, if it be possible, to bring the greater glory to its own people and country.

United in one common field, moved by a common duty, and advancing toward the foe in one common rank, they charge, each inspired by the great deeds of its own countrymen on a former field, and bound by the strongest determination to sustain the honor and renown of its name.

An insult offered to any of these emblems has stirred instantly the hearts of a whole race into a blaze of patriotism ; and the words "Scotch," "English" and "Irish," coupled with "Thistle," "Rose" and "Shamrock," have become synonymous with virtue, valor and victory.

Nova Scotians love their country and its name as dearly as any Englishman ever loved his own country and its name. Nova Scotia has for its emblem the Mayflower, which for beauty and sweetness is unsurpassed by any country. It is an emblem of purity blooming amid the snow. Nature has given it to the province, where the inhabitants cherish it as dearly as Englishmen do the rose.

To unite this beautiful emblem with the maple leaf without consulting the high-spirited people of "Scottish," "Irish" and "English" extraction it represented was an act of glaring injustice and wretched policy. It raised a storm of disapprobation and protest. It exhibited no gratitude for the loyalty and patriotism of one

of the staunchest colonies of the Empire. It was in direct opposition to a generous and active zeal in support of colonial liberty. To partially swallow up Nova Scotia by Canada was condemned at the beginning, has been condemned for thirty years, is condemned now, by all who are opposed to the ruin of the liberties of a people. No self-governing colonists ever expected to see in the reign of the good Queen their liberty tossed about as a plaything in the Imperial Parliament. The colonies that have never suffered as Nova Scotia, have the satisfaction of seeing that there are now men in the British Parliament of more liberal ideas, more general knowledge, more thorough understanding, and in all respects better calculated to protect the interests and liberties of the colonists than were Disraeli and Gladstone and most of their followers thirty years ago. To-day men in the British House of Commons love to foster liberty among their proud colonists and despise the insolent and grinding despotism of some other nations. These men desire to retain the gratitude of their race in each and every colony. What was done thirty years ago is now impossible to undo. Nothing is so mild and gentle as true courage, and the colonists in Nova Scotia have been honored a thousand times for their display of this rare quality, under the tyranny and oppression of British statesmen.

English statesmen and politicians who for a century have been called upon to deal with Indians, negroes and savages far away in their possessions felt even under the civilizing influences of the nineteenth century Christianity that at a critical time in the united colonies of Canada they could lay their hands upon the constitution of another free British colony and unite it with the former to satisfy their demands and arrange their difficulties, as they would unite the possession of a tribe of savages to some British possession in the Pacific Ocean.

If at the time the British North America Act was before the English Parliament there had been in that great body one hundred men who possessed each the really enlightened mind of a Charles James Fox, confederation, if ever established, as far as Nova Scotia was concerned, would have been completed in a very different way from what it was. Fox declared himself against everything that had the least tendency to bridle and restrain liberty.

He expressed himself as a friend to universal toleration, and an enemy to that narrow way of thinking that made men come to Parliament, not for the removal of some great grievances which they themselves felt, but to desire Parliament to shackle and fetter their fellow-subjects. If Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli were as intellectually superior to most of the men that have

appeared in the British Parliament during the past half century, as they are said to have been, intellectual superiority for once has shown itself to be as dangerous to liberty as ignorance.

But their acts were possibly committed through their being far removed from the colonists of Nova Scotia, and their understanding being darkened by distance, they did not study the life of the colonists as they did the life of Englishmen. They were in a sense alienated from the life of these equal in every respect to themselves. They did not see at the time that the whole colonial possessions "fitly joined together," through independent action, "and compacted by that which every part supplieth," "according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the" whole "unto the edifying of" the vast Empire "in love."

The idea of a great colonial Dominion seemed to possess British statesmen and intoxicate their senses, and their desires must be satisfied, no matter at what cost to Nova Scotia, or how much in opposition to the will of its inhabitants. When the appeal of Nova Scotians was before the English Parliament, praying to be considered as free British subjects, loyal to Great Britain and strong in love for the mother land, there should have been found among the Lords and Commoners in Parliament a majority of noble-

minded men who would have treated their colonists with the liberal spirit of Englishmen, by condemning at the beginning and opposing at every stage in Parliament a union distasteful to their distant subjects in one of England's most enlightened colonies.

Any Justices' Court in Britain would never fail to take ample time in considering an appeal of any individual, no matter how humble his station, and the British Parliament should have acted in the same just manner toward the inhabitants of one of the most advanced English colonies. And these members of a British Parliament should have remembered that these colonists gloried in the name of Nova Scotia and were ever bold in the glorious assertion of their colonial liberty. They should have considered these colonists as Englishmen jealous of their rights and no less warm in their assertion of them. And they should have denounced in glowing language the least attempt to unite with any other colony their Nova Scotian subjects who were so decidedly opposed to such un-English procedure. In glancing backward to some incidents in the British Parliament of eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, which bring back recollections of the past that even now stir the soul and make memory revert to those eventful days, every true Nova Scotian and every lover of liberty must blush at the course pursued by British statesmen.

CHAPTER II.

The Half Had Never Been Told.

While a quarter of a century has been speeding into the history of the past, time has been revealing to all that if the electors of Nova Scotia had even by a slight majority vote asked the provincial legislature to pass a resolution expressing their desire to have the province become a member of United Canada it would have commenced its career in the Union under more satisfactory conditions than it did.

The confederation of the four British North American provinces has been called the confederation of statesmen and politicians, and this is strictly true so far as the province of Nova Scotia is concerned.

The delegates to the Charlottetown convention were appointed to consider the question of a maritime union. They were not authorized to confer with Canadian delegates respecting the larger union. The Nova Scotian delegates were not authorized to dissolve the convention at Charlottetown and go to Quebec to meet the Canadian delegates there. No intelligent student of the times doubts that the leading men of the political parties of Ontario and Quebec united

for one purpose, and one purpose only, and that purpose was to secure the annexation of the Maritime Provinces. The former provinces were in a sad financial and legislative condition, and only the capture of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia could save them.

Whatever may have been the feelings of the people of New Brunswick at first, they eventually entered the Union by freedom of choice. But the representatives who in the Nova Scotia legislature supported the Union resolutions were false to the trust committed to their charge by the electors, and true to the political combine, which by union of interest stole away the constitution of Nova Scotia and the liberties of her subjects.

Had the people of this province been allowed to follow their inclination in eighteen hundred and sixty-seven it is possible that before the present time they would have peacefully and willingly entered the Union—entered it in a dignified and honorable manner. As it was, an act of parliament made Nova Scotia a part of the territory of Canada; but no act of parliament can change the spirit of a free people.

Nova Scotia would have doubtless been a heavy gainer had she been allowed to remain out of the Union for a quarter of a century. It is almost certain that the United States would have admitted her coal duty free, and other

natural products would have been similarly treated. The experience of twenty-five years has shown to the world that the Americans would like to own Nova Scotia. They have ever had an eye on her rich minerals, her grand harbors and beautiful valleys.

If they possessed Nova Scotia, Bar Harbor and many of their watering resorts would soon sink into insignificance. This beautiful land of the mayflower would soon become one vast summer resort and its lovely rivers and bays filled with yachts and crafts of every description. The Americans would also like to have this Atlantic peninsula, in order that they might completely command the winter transport of Canadian commerce, knowing as they do, that Canada would be seriously handicapped without Nova Scotia.

The Americans bought Alaska to keep England from getting it, and they would have used every effort of a peaceable kind and offered every inducement to entice Nova Scotians to cast their lot beneath the stars and stripes. And it is not at all unlikely that many million dollars of American capital would have been invested in industries in Nova Scotia during the past two or three decades. And this province with its extensive and lucrative fisheries in all probability could have secured most any commercial relations it desired with the United States had it been free

of the Canadian Union. The Americans would sooner possess Nova Scotia than any other territory of equal size on the American continent. They would sooner own it than many Newfoundlands.

Now let us for a moment look at what they have offered Newfoundland respecting trade relations between the two countries. In the draft of a commercial treaty a few years ago. Article II. of that proposed treaty, would allow, dry codfish, cod oil, seal skins, herrings, salmon, trout and salmon trout, lobsters, cod roes, tongues and sounds the products of the fisheries of Newfoundland to be admitted into the United States free of duty. Also all hogsheads, barrels, kegs, boxes, or tin cans in which the above articles shall be carried free of duty. And the United States would allow Newfoundland to collect duty on the following articles imported into the colony from the United States, on flour twenty-five cents per bbl.; pork, one dollar and fifty cents per bbl.; bacon, hams, tongues, smoked beef and sausages, two and one quarter cents per lb.; beef, pig's heads, hocks, feet, one dollar per bbl.; corn meal, twenty-five cents per bbl.; oatmeal and peas thirty cents per bbl.; kerosene oil, six cents per gal.; salt, twenty-five cents per ton, &c. And article V. stipulated, that if at any time any reduction is made by the colony of Newfoundland, during the term of the con-

vention, in the rate of duty on the articles named in the convention, the said reduction shall also apply to the United States. No further remarks will be made upon this proposed treaty, except that the United States were willing to acquiesce in even a more liberal treaty, but it was found impossible to overcome the opposition of Canada and England.

This proposed treaty with Newfoundland has merely been stated here to show what Nova Scotia might have expected had she been allowed to remain a colony separate from the Dominion. If Newfoundland with her rich fisheries has been offered such a treaty, is it not almost certain that Nova Scotia would have been offered just as good a one, if not a much better one? The New England States have always been desirous of close commercial relations between the Maritime Provinces and themselves.

On February 6th, 1893, a representative introduced a resolution in the house of representatives of Massachusetts which read as follows:

"Whereas closer commercial relations with Canada will accrue to the prosperity of all the citizens of our state, and whereas his excellency William E. Russell, has suggested that the General Court of the commonwealth by resolve or petition, address Congress to take early action in this important matter;

"Resolved, that the Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts in General Court assembled respectfully request Congress to negotiate in their wisdom, some measure, by which reciprocal commercial relations may speedily exist between the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America."

The reader can well imagine what might have been the commercial relations between the United States and Nova Scotia, had this province like Newfoundland been allowed to remain a single colony of the mother land.

Were Nova Scotia a colony to-day, such as she was in the year 1866, Canada to gain the confidence of this province, and with the view ultimately to induce her to throw in her lot with the great Dominion, would have very largely bought her coal and invested millions in her enterprises. England would have backed Canada in every scheme that she put forward to please and interest Nova Scotia, and whatever reasonable terms this province might demand, if at any time she consented to become a member of the Canadian union, would be acceded to by either a Liberal or Conservative British government or parliament. The value of Nova Scotia to England and the Empire is great. It is a most important connecting link in the British Belt that circles the globe. Without Nova Scotia, where could Great Britain find a rendezvous in the North

Atlantic in winter for a fleet of men-of-war or a coaling station in times of necessity? New Brunswick could never have supplied the place of Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland are out of the question. The union with Canada was brought about so hastily and enacted so quickly that the people of this province never had an opportunity to consider the importance of their province to Canada and Great Britain, in fact it has taken a quarter of a century of time to reveal the immense value of Nova Scotia to the Dominion at large and to the whole extent of the British Empire.

Nova Scotia was run into the Canadian Union for a mess of pottage. If such a game were attempted in 1898, as was so successfully played in 1867, it is hard to say what the result would be. The Australian colonies have learnt a wholesome lesson in more ways than one from the Canadian Union. No two or three of these colonies will ever attempt to force a sister colony against the will of its people into a gigantic Australian Confederation. A year or two ago a despatch from Sydney, New South Wales, stated that Sir George Dibbs the then premier of that colony, had submitted to the premier of Victoria, a scheme for the union of the two colonies. The name suggested for the union was the United Colonies, until such time as the other colonies consent to join it, and when they consent to do

so, the Confederation will be called the Dominion of Australia. A Canadian newspaper commenting at the time on the despatch, remarked that ; "Sir George Dibbs was evidently favorably impressed by his visit to Canada, and by the Canadian constitution and its working ; but there must be peculiar local conditions and prejudices in Australia which suggest to him the advisability of such a gradual or piecemeal proceeding towards Australian unity."

The condition in one respect was similar in Australia to what it was in British North America previous to the year 1867. Two Australian colonies Victoria and New South Wales seemed to be in harmony regarding union, if so, they would remain when united, as United Colonies, until the other colonies consent to join them. The people's liberty in the other colonies must be respected, and the Dominion of Australia if it ever comes into existence must be established on the free will of the people of all the colonies. No coalitions, no conventions, no parliaments, no delegations, will be allowed to override the free and independent voice of the electors. This is just as it should be and is the essence of British freedom, as expressed in Britain's Australian colonies.

Since the above was written fuller details of the draft constitution of the proposed Commonwealth of Australia have come to hand. Any

three colonies approving the constitution will establish a federation. They will make a beginning, and it is thought the other colonies will come in in time. It will not be the legislature of any outside colony, any body of delegates, nor the Imperial Parliament that will force any such colony into the union. It must enter freely, by the unrestricted voice of its inhabitants. The Australians are to be commended for their attempt to form a Commonwealth by laying the foundation stones in the spirit of provincial liberty. When the Canadian fathers were laying the foundation stones of the Dominion it was truly said of them that they entered upon the task in a spirit of political privateering. They recognized that it was only by a fox-like policy that they could hope to capture Nova Scotia and carry their great scheme through and give the character of a nation to the scattered provinces of British North America. The Australian delegates are actuated by lofty motives in their attempt to have a Dominion founded by the people and for the people. An Australian Dominion fully based upon the popular will is their motto, and no province however small, will be dragged in like a stone from a quarry to give it strength and support.

The smaller colonies of Australia are bound to protect themselves against the larger ones. It matters not how small or insignificant the

colony, it is to have equal representation in the senate with the largest. The smaller colonies insisted upon it as their only possible protection against the larger ones. The convention that drafted the constitution of the proposed federation would have been a complete failure, if this had not been conceded to the colonies. The financial provisions show another safe-guard for the smaller colonies. The colonies agree to abandon the custom and excise duties for the purpose of federal finance. After providing for the expense of the Commonwealth, the surplus is to be returned to the colonies in due proportion, what a due proportion means is not stated. It may mean a proportion above that required from each province on a basis of population. In case of a deficiency in any province, it is not stated how the matter would be adjusted. This no doubt has been thoroughly considered. It is a system that will make each province look well to its imports and as imports depend on exports, to its exports also. Under the arrangement in Canada, Nova Scotia has allowed Ontario and Quebec to cripple her imports, and consequently to capture a large portion of her revenue on imports, which now come through Ontario and Quebec, instead of direct. What Nova Scotia has lost in duties Ontario and Quebec have gained. It is said that even now, with all its safeguards, too many

of the people in Australia are dissatisfied with the scheme to make it safe. This dissatisfaction has been caused in some colonies, because the delegates of the other colonies are determined to fully protect these colonies. Such delegates would have been a blessing and an honor to Nova Scotia thirty years ago.

England has added to her empire many colonies, some by peaceful occupation, some by cession, others by treaty and successful war until it needs a diligent historian to recall the circumstances under which each successive locality came under Britain's power, but in the history of the English race, it would be difficult to find an instance, except that of Nova Scotia, where the mother country agreed with two of her colonies to hand over to them a third colony in face of the unanimous opposition of its inhabitants, who were the direct heirs of Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen. British justice, in the case of Nova Scotia, became British despotism. If Nova Scotia had shown herself at any time in her history a colony disloyal to the old land, or indifferent to the renown and honor of England, or careless and unconcerned about Britain's future, she might have looked for a rebuff when occasion presented itself. Nova Scotia had always been one of the most loyal of the British North American colonies. Her loyalty to the mother land was deeper and broader than that

of either of the Canadas. Her attachment to Britain was as sound as that of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island or Newfoundland. And neither of these latter provinces were forced into the union in opposition to the will of their inhabitants. To Nova Scotians, patriotism seemed only devotion to the mother land. Their loyalty was loyalty to the Queen of England, and their highest hope, and dearest prayer, that she might long live to wear the crown and sway the sceptre, and that nothing should come to overthrow the British constitution and English throne. They were patriotic and loyal to their hearts' core. They were ambitious to follow as nearly as possible in the footsteps of England. They were proud that the blood of Britons flowed through their veins. The men and women born in the early part of the century were as purely English in sentiment as the truest Britons in the land of the rose. They looked upon their province as scarcely anything more than a mere colony of England, and were perfectly content to have it remain so forever.

Our ancestors trusted in England, as loving children in their parents. To them :

" The sceptre showed the force of temporal power,
The attribute to awe and majesty,
Wherein did sit the dread and fear of kings."

The time was when most of the colonists only thought of kings and queens, as all-powerful,

decked in royal purple and jewelled diadems ; but in this generation, they look back upon sixty years of glorious reign, and think of their beloved Queen, as a royal woman, finding her chief happiness in domestic life. In her more private life they see her, without much more regal pomp than would attend a common sense mother of any respectable family in Nova Scotia. They look upon her as one who loves manly frankness of character in her subjects, and soundness and liberality of view in her people. Her good sense and womanly virtues have more attracted the attention of her subjects than her sceptre, her royal robes and sparkling crown.

The feelings of the people of Nova Scotia, their firm patriotism and deeply rooted loyalty, were not fully understood by Englishmen at the bringing in of Confederation, and to the Queen *the half had never been told.* It is just possible that one or more of the men who used every effort to disturb the peace of this province and unite it with the Canadas against the will of the people, has found out that royal honors are not easy, unless he can feel that his career and his labors meet with the appreciation of his fellow-colonists and are supported with the grateful acclamation of his countrymen.

The flight of time, the extension and quickening of intercourse, the growing means of

knowledge, have enlarged the views of the present generation. At this hour Nova Scotians are as loyal to their Queen as at any hour in her long reign. They love the old land as well as their sires did. And this love of the old home will never wane while the same attraction emanates from the British throne.



CHAPTER III.

The Views of British Statesmen Regarding the Colonies.

When those British Colonies that have outgrown short skirts are beginning to adorn themselves with the garb of nationality, the mother land begins to consult with such as to her future, and their future. England then realizes that such colonial possessions are of more importance to her and to the world than mere trading posts or military stations. The day has come when she sees that the colonists are making the colonies. It is not necessary in our day for British colonists to establish their liberty by forcible means,—liberty strengthens with their childhood and grows with their growth. In their youth they may agree in being governed by worn-out soldiers or by British placemen. But in their manhood they demand the best men England has to give, or those equal to the best and wisest of themselves. It is not so very long ago since the great majority of Britons knew no more about the location of many of the colonies, than the captain of a fishing craft in a dense fog knows of the location of his dories.

After the long contest, signalized by the crowning victory of Wolfe at Quebec, John

Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, in seventeen hundred and sixty-one, expressed his ambition to go to Quebec, as the first governor, to reconcile the new subjects to the English. He was disappointed in this, and his non-success he laid to the charge of the Earl of Bute, who had become Secretary of State, and who, it was said, required two tests of merit in those he favored, namely: Toryism in polities, and birth north of the Tweed. Lord Bute—we are told, could not spell, and Sir Francis Dashwood—who, it is said, could not do a sum in simple addition—was Chancellor of the Exchequer. And it is also said that neither knew anything more of London than that it was a place where merchants traded and bankers dealt in money.

These were fine statesmen into whose hands were placed the destinies of England and the salvation of the colonies. What a test of a man's fitness to become a governor of an important English colony, or of any colony or any place, that he must be a Tory and a Scotchman! How could it be expected that a person who knew nothing of the capital of the country of which he had charge, could know anything of England's colonial possessions or of the people who were settling in them?

It has been said that the revolt in the American colonies was caused by English statesmen and legislation, and not by any act of the people

of the British nation. And those who read history independently and for correct information, will probably agree that the saying is true.

Perhaps no Englishman ever studied the question of the colonies and colonial government more closely than Sir William Molesworth. Speaking in Parliament in 1838, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, his comprehensive views and vast knowledge made him appear as a light in a darkened chamber. In advocating the principles of self-government, he sought to destroy an iniquitous and meddling system which excited ill-will among the colonists and threatened in some colonies to lead to the overthrow of English power.

In our day, a person who becomes Secretary of State for the Colonies is able to fulfil his duties worthily, with a desire not only to assert the honor of England, but to promote the real and permanent well-being of the inhabitants of the smallest dependencies. And British statesmen, looking at the distant and valuable possessions of the country, feel proud of its acquisitions, and the result is that there is a reciprocity of feeling which should exist between brethren, and that unity and good-will which binds firmly together parent and child. To Sir William Molesworth no political question was nearer his heart than colonial reform. He could afford more information upon the subject

and did more to advance the principle of self-government in the colonies than any other man in the parliament of his day. Unfortunately for the colonies, he died when most useful and in the prime of life. And from his death, in the year 1855, until 1867, he left no one behind in parliament as well versed in colonial matters as himself. Times have greatly changed since 1867. We have lately seen a race horse add popularity to a prime minister, and a winning yacht bind a prince of royal blood closer to the hearts of the English people.

Had a Nova Scotian jockey ridden an English race horse to victory over the Derby course in 1866, or a Nova Scotian sailor at the helm of a clipper yacht belonging to the Secretary of State for the Colonies won in that year the America cup, the history of Nova Scotia and the feelings of its inhabitants would possibly have been better understood in the following year, and its latitude and longitude better known. Many things go to prove that some Englishmen prominent in politics, and social position, and influential in the councils of state, knew little more about this province in 1866, than a celebrated Duke, high in official circles, knew eighty years earlier. This Duke, speaking in the British parliament, is reported to have said, "Oh, yes, yes to be sure Annapolis must be defended; troops must be sent to Annapolis, pray

where is Annapolis? Cape Breton an Island! wonderful! show it to me on the map. So it is, sure enough, my dear sir you always bring us good news. I must go and tell the King that Cape Breton is an island." The late Hon. Joseph Howe, in a speech delivered in Hants County in 1867, said: "The general public of England do not appear to consider Nova Scotian affairs as of any serious concern. The question of confederation is a colonial affair and seemingly worthy of no special attention. A celebrated jockey by the name of Grimshaw in returning from one of the great races in that country was accidentally thrown from his carriage and killed. And so great was the excitement concerning the death of young Grimshaw, that it was talked about in every club, at every street corner and by all classes of citizens. Many of the leading newspapers gave columns in sketching the career of the dead jockey. Every paper was filled with matter concerning the record of the celebrated rider. About the same time a young widow of fashion, whose husband is remembered for his splendid entertainments at his castle, sustained another heavy domestic bereavement in the premature death of her celebrated poodle dog "Jim," which expired in her pocket while eating medicated ginger snaps, as she was about to alight from her carriage. The exit of the jockey and Jim occupied columns of

these papers, while five lines were devoted to Nova Scotia and the Canadian Confederation." About three or four years previous to the passing of the British North America Act, a gentleman from Nova Scotia while travelling in England, met in a railway coach between Chester and London, a clerical gentleman and his little son. The gentleman had a good living, and was a graduate of one of the first universities. The little son had a fine collection of postage stamps, and opened his book to show his collection. The Nova Scotia gentleman looked over the book and remarked to the little fellow, "I *guess* that I can give you a stamp, I do not see among the number." The boy's father replied, "Oh, thanks, a stamp of the United States of America?" "No!" said the Nova Scotian. "Beg your pardon, sir," replied the father, "I thought you were an American, as you used the word *guess*." "I am a British Colonist, I am a native of Nova Scotia," replied the other. "Oh, I see! you have come quite a distance to visit the old land. Is not Nova Scotia an island lying nearly midway between that of Ascension and St. Helena, the exiled home of Napoleon Bonaparte?" asked the clerical gentleman. Probably there were thousands of educated persons, moving in the best society and occupying responsible positions in England at that time, who knew as little about Nova Scotia as the learned divine.

In the year 1867, there were men in political life in England who did not know, or perhaps care, whether Nova Scotia was in Africa, Asia, or America, or whether it was one of the Cannibal Islands or not. If British politicians had known, in 1867, all it was their duty to know about this province, they never would have allowed the British North America Act to have passed the House of Commons, in much less time than many Acts incorporating joint stock companies with five or ten thousand dollars capital, have been in passing through the Nova Scotia legislature.

In this year of the Diamond Jubilee, a great change is seen in the opinions of Englishmen, caused no doubt by very much added information. In the British press, in the clubs, in literary circles, in parliament, everywhere, the talk is about the colonies. Our statesmen are running over to England, as regularly and actively, and as often as children to their mothers knee when looking for the appearing of Santa Claus. These statesmen are banqueted, are decorated, are entertained at garden parties and at clubs, and invited hither and thither all over the land. Colonial politicians from the ends of the earth are seen at every important function. Every word that drops from their lips is caught up and sent over the whole empire, and next morning is read in ten thousand colonial homes.

Amid all this high social whirl, "The future of England and Her Colonies," are the watchwords. "Preferential Trade," "Colonial Defence," "Interchange of regular and colonial troops," and Imperial Federation, are for the time being made magnificent play things. We hope amid all this magnificence and splendour that colonial statesmen, will not forget that they owe in no small degree their elevation to their own countrymen. Omar Pasha, when commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces, shortly after the close of the campaign in the Crimea, said, "My breast is adorned with seven Turkish and four foreign decorations, these latter being the Cross of the Legion of Honour, the Order of the Bath, the Russian order of St. Anne, and the Spanish order of Isabella; I have also been considered worthy of three sabres of honour enriched with diamonds. Then turning to his friend, he continued: All that Monsieur Graff, I owe to you, as it was you who gave me the first notion of the military art, and to the brave soldiers of my country who sustained me upon the field of battle."

Sir William Molesworth always had his eye on colonial statesmen, and formed sound opinions as to their abilities. The Hon. Francis Hincks (afterwards Sir Francis Hincks), though a comparative stranger in Canada, was elected to represent the County of Oxford in March, 1841. He appeared in the first parliament held

subsequent to the union of the Upper and Lower provinces of Canada. In 1844 Lord Metcalf dissolved the Canadian parliament. Mr. Hincks was not returned, being defeated; but in 1848 he was re-elected, and accepted the office of Inspector-General of Finance. The appointment to office was made under the administration of Mr. Baldwin. When this gentleman retired from office, Mr. Hincks was appointed Prime Minister by the Governor-General, a post Sir William Molesworth felt he well deserved, and the duties of which he admirably discharged. He continued to hold this important position until the year 1854, when he was defeated by the opposition. Sir William Molesworth, who knew that Mr. Hincks' intimate acquaintance with colonial affairs made him peculiarly adapted for an important colonial post, offered him the Governorship of Barbadoes and the Windward Islands. He accepted the position and proved that the best colonial Governors are those who have had an intimate acquaintance with colonial affairs. The Secretary for the Colonies saw that the clear, vigorous intelligence and unflinching integrity of Mr. Hincks would fit him for high colonial position in any part of the world.

The great Disraeli with all his knowledge, had not, in Sir William Molesworth's day, a very exalted opinion of the colonies and colonial statesmen.

Lord Rosebery has brought home to Disraeli the statement that : " These wretched colonies will all be independent, too, in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks." The statement has often been made, and nearly as often denied. In a speech recently Lord Rosebery incidentally referred to it. A correspondent wrote him that the statement was challenged, and suggested that he give his authority. Lord Rosebery replied through his private secretary that the words as quoted appear in a letter dated August 13th, 1852, addressed to Lord Malmsbury, then Foreign Secretary, and written by Disraeli when Chancellor of the Exchequer. Such, then, were the views of one of England's greatest statesmen respecting England's colonial possessions fourteen years before the Canadian confederation. And these views were shared by many prominent and clever Englishmen of the time and for a quarter of a century later. Disraeli lived long enough to change his views. In a speech delivered by Disraeli (then Lord Beaconsfield) at Aylesbury in 1879, he paid a glowing tribute to Canada ; He said : " Now a very peculiar circumstance is that the Dominion of Canada wishes to institute a great yeoman class. It has legislated for that purpose ; its legislation has now an influence for that purpose. Now, I believe the great and growing yeoman class in Canada will be largely the

means of preserving her from ultra Republicanism, it will preserve Canada from a despotism that ends in democracy, or a democracy that ends in despotism."

Had Benjamin Disraeli, studied as closely the colonies, and the colonial system, and watched colonial statesmen as closely twelve years before his government passed the British North American Act, as he did during the twelve years after the passage of that act, he would have given more attention to the appeal of Nova Scotians, and the people of this province might have received the consideration due them by a British government and parliament.

Whatever the future history of Canada may be, and we all trust it may be great and glorious, and also hope that it will be untarnished by any of those follies which have been committed in the past under the plea that the resolutions of legislatures are always the voice of the people. We all hope that the policy of England, with regard to her distant and valuable possessions, will henceforward continue to excite the admiration of not only her colonists alone, but of the world. Wise and understanding Englishmen well know that the growing wealth and power of their country, are in a measure due to the growing greatness of its colonial possessions. The day seems to have passed when British statesmen view the colonies as incumbrances.

The day has come when they look upon them with pride. And self governing colonists in every quarter of the earth may be enhanced by the conviction, that no federation of their colonies will in the future be accomplished, unless the direct voice of the electors in each self governing colony demands it. Such unions will be the offsprings of the ardent wishes formed in the hearts of the inhabitants of each and every colony. No British colony will henceforth be called upon to endure the humiliating position of Nova Scotia in 1867. The inhabitants of New Brunswick became Canadians by their own vote. The people of Prince Edward Island became Canadians by their own choice. Those of Newfoundland remained out of the union and kept the control of their liberty. The citizens of Nova Scotia became Canadians through the despotism of their legislature and the power of a British parliament. Colonial growth, time and study have been enlarging the sympathies of British statesmen toward the colonists, and teaching them toleration and forbearance. These things have also taught colonists to keep an ever watchful eye over selfish and ambitious statesmen and politicians, whether at home or abroad.

Englishmen appear to have found out, though late it may be, that a man to fill the office of Colonial Secretary worthily, should possess an

unflinching rectitude of purpose, an intimate acquaintance even with the small polities of small dependencies, and with a desire not only to assert the honor of his country, but to promote the real and permanent well being of the colonists, by bringing the policy of England, with regard to her distant possessions to accord with the feelings of the majority in any of her self-governing provinces. If such wisdom and such a policy should be always displayed, then England will have continued cause to justly glory in the strength and greatness of her Empire. And all colonists will continue to turn with a home feeling and a thrill of patriotic pride toward the mother land from whom they have derived so many noble and spirit stirring associations. The love of the place of our birth, it has been said, is implanted deep in man by God himself. This is a great truth, that should be always uppermost in the minds of those in power, when dealing with other lands and other peoples.

We now live in a very different day from that in which we lived in 1867. Through the medium of electricity the pulse of England and the pulse of Canada, or the pulse of any province of Canada, can be taken in the same hour. To-day the affairs of the newly discovered gold regions of the Klondike are known as quickly in London, Edinburgh or Dublin as they are known in Halifax. Peers and statesmen and public men

of the old country are constantly associating with the leading minds of the colonies. Colonists are now not seeking advice so much from England, as Englishmen are seeking information from the colonists. The old days of colonial life are rapidly passing out, a new era has dawned. From the occupant of the throne, to the occupants of the humblest English cottage homes, Canada is daily becoming better known. The Northwest and British Columbia are being settled by Englishmen, Welchmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, while the relatives and friends of these settlers on the other side of the Atlantic are deeply interested in their welfare, and are informing themselves concerning the localities in which they reside.

In glancing backward through thirty years, to the time of the enacting of the legislation which passed Nova Scotia into the Canadian union, we find we cannot blame the British Parliament alone, nor the Nova Scotia legislature alone, nor the conservative party of Canada alone for forcing Nova Scotia into the union, but by a combination of both the political parties of Canada together with the unconstitutional act of the Nova Scotia legislature, the Parliament of Great Britain willingly sanctioned their demands. That there may be no mistake concerning the action of the Canadian parties we insert here a quotation from a speech delivered at Halton a

few years ago by the present premier of Canada. He is reported to have said: "It took George Brown a whole life time to obtain justice not only for the province of Ontario, but for the whole of the united provinces of Canada, (meaning Ontario and Quebec). It took him a whole life time to obtain the remedy of that evil and to substitute for the clumsy legislative union (meaning the union of Quebec and Ontario) the present federal union of the British American provinces. Mr. Laurier in the above words has given the credit of bringing about confederation to the great leader of the Grit party, the late Hon. George Brown.

If any man in the British House of Commons understood the feeling of the people of Nova Scotia in 1867, that man was the Right Honorable John Bright. That true Englishman and friend of the people of this province, in presenting a petition to the House, complaining of the absorption of Nova Scotia into Canada by the Confederation Act, had the following to say: "The Nova Scotia Legislature by sanctioning the plan, had acted contrary to the wishes of the people; the assent of the British Parliament had been obtained, if not by fraud, at least by extravagant over-colouring of the facts; and the Government, when they were pressing the bill on with indecent haste, knew that Nova Scotia was averse to it." He therefore proposed an

address to the crown, praying that a commission might be sent out to inquire into the causes of the discontent felt by the Nova Scotians; and from such an enquiry he anticipated either that some modification might be made in the Confederation which would meet the wishes of Nova Scotia, or that the union might be confined to the Maritime Provinces, or to the Canadas alone. To refuse the enquiry would be to follow up the foolish haste of last year by more perilous obstinacy, and he warned the House in the most solemn tone, that to turn a deaf ear to these complaints of the colony would be the first step toward throwing it into the arms of the United States. Mr. Bright's motion for enquiry was seconded by Mr. Baxter, but opposed from the Treasury Bench by Mr. Adderley, who, while not denying the discontent, said that Confederation was the only alternative of annexation to the United States, as these provinces could not remain forever in an independent position. Mr. Cardwell believed the discontent would pass away. If Mr. Adderley believed what he was saying, all that can be said about him, is, that he was grossly ignorant of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia and their unswerving patriotism to England. Nova Scotians never dreamed of annexation to the United States, they could not have been forced into annexation, before, or at, Confederation except at

the point of the bayonet. And commercially speaking annexation to the United States, would have been of much more value to Nova Scotia, than Confederation has ever been. Mr. Bright in his speech mentioned, as a proof of public opinion in this province, that at the last general election, the people almost universally pronounced against Confederation, although the influence of the colonial office, of the military, of the Canadian officials, and even the name of the Queen had been used on that side. Had the Queen known in full, all the circumstances connected with Confederation, it is not at all likely she would have sanctioned the British North America Act, until it was so amended as to satisfy her most loyal subjects in Nova Scotia. As for the colonial office it was bound to carry its point, even at sacrificing British liberty in a British colony. As to Canadian officials their eyes were on place and honors, the first they secured in Canada, the latter they received from England. As to the military service, the officers cared more about their own promotion, than they did about the happiness of the colonists, and likely some of them knew little more, or cared little more about the feelings and opinions of Nova Scotians, than, Sitting Bull, Chief Poundmaker, Big Bear or Red Crow. It will not now avail to dwell upon the past, unless by so doing like action and like procedure may be

shunned in the future, and policies once adopted, may not again be attempted.

Bright and his one or two followers, stood almost alone in supporting colonial liberty, and their acts recall those of Chatham, Fox and Wilkes one hundred years earlier. The interference of British power in eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, against everything which was dear to Nova Scotians, was even worse than the interference of the same power one hundred years earlier with the American colonists. The former colonists exhibited no opposition to the old land, and were, thrifty, peaceful, loyal and thoroughly contended beneath the Union Jack. One soul animated the whole province, and if a traitor's nest could be found, it was in the provincial assembly, and not against the flag of England, but against the liberties of the people.

There are words of statesmen that never should be forgotten; words that time has shown to be prophetic; words that are guiding stars in history. Such words were those of Wilkes in seventeen hundred and seventy-five. "I speak, sir, as a firm friend to England and America, but still more to universal liberty and the rights of mankind. I trust no part of the subjects of this vast empire will ever submit to be slaves. I am sure the Americans are too high spirited to brook the idea. England was never engaged in a contest of such importance

to our most valuable concerns and possessions. Success—final success seems to me not equivocal not uncertain, but impossible. We shall be considered as their most implacable enemies, an eternal separation will follow, and the grandeur of the British Empire pass away."

Wilkes styled Samuel Adams and John Hancock, not only worthy gentlemen, but true patriots, as he would have styled every Nova Scotian whose name was on the petition presented by John Bright, had he been a member of the British Parliament at that time.

Some of the warmest adherents of the House of Brunswick could not brook, that the forms of the constitution, as established at the Revolution should be perverted to give effect to the whims of a king. The best and wisest men of England at the time, saw that every proper effort must be put forward to maintain the power of the people in opposition to that of the Crown and House of Lords.

Happily in our day Queen Victoria has stood between parliament and the people, and by her judicious and praiseworthy firmness has so balanced the affairs of the nation, that scarcely any friction has been felt between parliaments and the people. In this day an English government or parliament that usurped to itself powers which belong to the people would not long manage the affairs of the country. The voice

of the nation would be attentively listened to by Her Majesty, and matters would soon be righted, if any government or parliament attempted to interfere with the constitutional rights of the people.

Her Majesty's subjects in every self governing colony are supposed to have the same rights extended to them, as are extended to Englishmen. The unanimous voice of any British colony, in opposition to any tyrannical act of its legislature would be respected by the Queen, and the difficulty would be agreeably arranged, soon after the matter was fully and fairly laid before Her Majesty.

In eighteen hundred and sixty-seven Her Majesty could not have been fully and fairly informed of the state of feeling in Nova Scotia.

No consideration would ever have made the Queen an instrument in a measure to suppress liberty and lower the rank in which Nova Scotia stood among the other British American Provinces, and render its situation among self-governing dependencies beneath that of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick.

Her Majesty never could have known, who the leading evil spirit on this side of the Atlantic was who conducted much of the mischief to Nova Scotia. And who constantly looked to his own elevation and fame as the two most desira-

ble objects. If she had been made familiar with his acts, she never would have given her Royal sanction to the British North America Act, nor extended to him Royal recognition.

It is very doubtful that she rightly divined Disraeli's ulterior plans, indeed they must have been vaguely conceived by her, during the hurry and rush of the Act through Parliament. Her Prime Minister was undoubtedly a great statesman, filled with grand designs and ambitions. Through him India was transformed from a possession to an Empire. He secured for Britain the control of the Suez Canal. And he was full of the scheme of imperial federation of autonomous colonies, to the advocacy of which the present Secretary of State for the colonies has succeeded.

But if Mr. Chamberlain should undertake to do with any single Australian colony or any self-governing dependency no matter how small, what Disraeli did concerning Nova Scotia at the time of the Canadian union, he would quickly find out that the conditions of thirty years ago are very different from the conditions of to-day. Colonists can talk with their Queen to-day, and lay their grievance before her as quickly as her subjects at home. Enlightenment is liberty.

Disraeli may have been stirred in his idea of imperial federation by Bismarck, who had a grand theatre around him for the display of his

powerful genius, when he converted a number of petty principalities into a majestic empire. His action with the least of those principalities was open and creditable indeed, when compared with that of Disraeli toward Nova Scotia. Disraeli's was an achievement without a parallel in British history regarding colonial government. It is not likely to have a parallel. Any English Prime Minister or Colonial Secretary in this day, who attempted such a move under similar circumstances, would bitterly lament the criminal mistake he had made.

English statesmen may find little trouble in drawing Canadian statesmen who are looking for immortal renown, into taking the colonial lead for the accomplishment of a great and entire colonial scheme. But Imperial Federation will never be accomplished by statesmen, politicians and parliaments alone. When such a federation is accomplished, if it ever is, it will be founded on the sanction of Her Majesty's free born colonial subjects circling the earth.

In this day a secretary of state for the colonies may deliver a high toned speech, on England's Foreign Policy, which the next morning may send a thrill of disapprobation through every self governing British possession. The colonies are not anxious to be drawn into any European-Asiatic complications, to satisfy the ambition of any member of the Imperial Govern-

ment. The colonies have been watching closely, the wise and cautious policy of Lord Salisbury, as well as the policy of the colonial secretary, and they can form a quite correct opinion of what are England's interests, and what are the individual interests of British statesmen. The conduct of a secretary of state for the colonies like that of a prime minister, should be characterized by wisdom, moderation, firmness and exalted integrity. If uniformly guided by these noble gifts no improper acts will be committed against the weakest colony, and England's transactions with foreign nations will be in the future, as in the past, without stain or without reproach.



CHAPTER IV.

Princess Victoria, and from the Coronation to Confederation.

Many interesting sketches, in this Jubilee year have been published concerning the youthful days of England's Great Queen. Some interesting events, which may not have been as widely published as many others, will be recorded in this chapter.

Princess Victoria was nearly a year old when George III. died. She was two years old when the great Napoleon breathed his last in St. Helena. She was thirteen years of age when the first Reform Act passed, and from which began those changes in the British House of Commons, which have made that body the greatest assembly in the world. In the following year she doubtless heard with joy that slavery under British rule had been abolished forever. In 1829 the little Princess Victoria learned from those about her that the great city of London was policed for the first time by a metropolitan force. This was done under Sir Robert Peel, who was Home Secretary in the Duke of Wellington's cabinet, and from that circumstance sprang the nicknames "Bobbies" and

"Peelers." Capital punishment for the crime of forgery was enforced for the last time in England in 1829. In August of the same year the first bus rolled through the streets of London. A year later the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway took place. The young Princess saw the erection of the new London bridge in 1831, and the introduction of steel pens the following year. In 1834 an Australian colony was formed into a self governing province, and the same year the old Parliament buildings at Westminster were destroyed by fire, making way for the magnificent pile of the present day.

In the very year of her coronation the first steamship to cross the Atlantic made the voyage to New York, and the first telegraph line was built and operated. These advances were followed two years later by the establishment of the penny post. About this time it took one of Her Majesty's troop ships seventy-eight days in the voyage from Portsmouth to Quebec. A new Pacific province, "New Zealand" came in with 1841. New Zealand whose praises Kipling has sung, is among the brightest gems of the British Crown.

"Last, loneliest, loveliest, exquisite, apart—
On us, on us, the unswerving season smiles,
Who wonder 'mid our fern why men depart
To seek the Happy Isles ?"

This was also the year in which the Prince of Wales was born. The following year Her Majesty paid her first visit to Scotland.

Polar exploration, one of the most active of the scientific endeavors of the century, began in earnest with the famous expedition of Sir John Franklin in 1845. The repeal of the Corn Laws, one of the most important events of her reign, mark 1846, as a memorable year in British history. This year was also marked by the terrible potatoe famine in Ireland. The first of international exhibitions was held in 1851, and it had a special interest for Her Majesty from the fact that her consort, Prince Albert, was the originator of it. It was this year too that gold was discovered in Australia.

Two years later, Arthur, Duke of Wellington, hero of Waterloo and conqueror of Bonaparte died.

Three years later came the Crimean War, which laid the foundation of that Great Eastern question, which has kept Europe on the watch ever since. At this time English women in high social circles, added renown to their rank and sex, by leaving their homes, and going to the fields of battle to care for and comfort the sick and wounded and dying defenders of their country.

It was also at this time, just after the battle of Inkermann that the Bishop of London prepared

the beautiful prayer, which was daily read in a hundred thousand British homes. The prayer read as follows :

" O Almighty and most merciful God, the protector of all that trust in Thee, accept, We beseech Thee, our humble intercessions for our brethren, Thy servants now fighting the battles of our country by land or by sea. Protect and defend them, with Thy Almighty power. Give them true courage in danger, and mercifulness in victory. Be pleased, O Lord, to succour and relieve the sick and wounded, and to bless the means used for their recovery. Grant that all they who fall in battle may depart this life in the true faith of Christ. Minister abundantly the consolations of Thy Holy Spirit to the fatherless children and widows, and to all who are in sorrow or anxiety, and in Thine own good time restore to all the nations of the world the blessings of peace. Grant this, O Heavenly Father, for the sake of Thy dear Son, the Prince of Peace, our Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen."

The Victoria Cross, which every true British soldier covets, was instituted about this time, by royal warrant, as a reward for individual instances of merit and valor in the army and navy. Of all prizes that men in the army and navy covet there is none more eagerly sought, more jealously guarded, or more dearly loved than the simple cross in gun metal bearing the inscription

"For Valor." Although many acts of heroism had been performed in both services in the earlier part of Her Majesty's reign, it was not deemed advisable to make the action of the warrant retrospective. The heroes of the Crimea were therefore the first who received the much coveted decoration.

Shortly after the return of the Queen of England from her visit to the French Emperor in the autumn of 1855, she established the Victoria Cross. The Cross of the Legion of Honour had been established by the Great Napoleon. The following touching incident may have had something to do with the introduction of the Victoria Cross. A guard of honour, composed of the Imperial Guard, was drawn up in the courtyard of the Palace of St. Cloud. An incident occurred exhibiting in a very remarkable manner the consideration of Napoleon III for his soldiers, and his magnificent recognition of bravery. The officers in command of the Guard of Honour had caused to be brought near the Palace, for the purpose of gratifying him with a view of England's Queen, a gallant Voltigeur of the Imperial Guard, who had been frightfully wounded before Sebastapol. The Emperor saw the poor fellow, and, in reply to his inquiry, was informed that he had shown distinguished bravery in one of the recent engagements. His Majesty desired the man should approach. The soldier trembl-

ingly advanced on crutches, when the Emperor stepped forward, and unfastening from his own uniform the Cross of the Legion of Honour, placed it upon the left breast of the gallant fellow, who was so much overcome by the gracious condescension that he burst into a flood of tears. The incident was witnessed by the Queen and the Empress, and all present were greatly affected by it.

Shortly before the above incident, and the Queen's visit to Napoleon III, the most brilliant charge recorded in the annals of war took place. A halo of glory still fresh, surrounds the name of the Earl of Cardigan and his horsemen, who shot through the valley of death caught some beams of its brightness, and those who fell by the way lay covered with immortal honor.

The deeds of the Light Brigade brought fresh renown to the British soldier, and additional lustre to Victoria's reign. Here are Earl Cardigan's own words concerning that brilliant charge: "I received an order to attack the Russians in the valley. I received that order and I obeyed it. I delivered that order myself to the brigade under my command. I ordered them to march—I ordered them to advance—I ordered them to attack the Russians in the valley. I must say this, that I did so upon that occasion—it being my duty to give the order to them—I did give it, but I deeply regretted it, and I am

sure I should have much more deeply regretted it afterward if anything had prevented my performing the rest of my duty, which was to share the dangers, which those brave men so nobly faced. Whatever danger my comrades incurred, I shared it with them. We proceeded,—we advanced down and along a gradual descent of more than three quarters of a mile, with one of the batteries opposed to us vomiting forth shells, round shot and grape—with a battery on the right flank and a battery on the left, and all the intermediate ground covered with Russian riflemen—so that when we came down within a distance of fifty yards to their artillery which had been firing at us, we were, in fact, surrounded and encircled by a blaze of fire, and raked by the riflemen, who fired upon us in flank. As we passed on, the oblique fire of the artillery was brought upon our rear, and on both flanks. We entered the battery—we went through the battery—the two leading regiments cutting down a great number of the Russian gunners. In the two regiments which I had the honour to lead, every officer was either killed or wounded, or had his horse shot under him, except one. Those regiments having proceeded on, were followed by the second line, consisting of two more cavalry regiments, which continued to cut down the Russian gunners. Then came the third line consisting of two other regiments, who also

nobly performed their duty. The result was, this body of about 600 cavalry succeeded in passing through a body of, as we have since learnt 5,600 Russian cavalry ; and having passed through this mass, they went, according to our technical and military expression, "threes about," and retired in the same way, doing as much execution as they possibly could upon the enemy. Upon returning up the hill we had descended, we had to run the same gauntlet, and incur the same risk from the flank fire of the tirailleurs. Numbers of men and horses were shot down, and many of those unfortunate soldiers who had lost their chargers were killed while endeavouring to make their escape. But what was the feeling and bearing of those men who returned ? From each regiment returned but small detachments—two thirds of them having been destroyed—and those men, when they arrived at the summit of the hill from whence they had commenced the attack but a short time before, gave three cheers of triumph and rejoicing at the exploit they had performed ; and well they might do so, for they had ridden over a Russian battery, and encountered a countless body of the enemy in the rear."

There was one Canadian horse, which charged with the six hundred, through that valley of blood, death and glory. The following was published in the *London Telegraph* a few years ago :

"Sergeant Fawke, one of the Scots Greys, tells how in riding back, a shell came skipping along, and, after passing through the Dragoons, struck the snow white Canadian charger on which he was mounted, killing it on the spot. When he fell came the supreme moment of danger, but his companions rescued him, and a sergeant major of the Dragoon Guards gave him the bridle of a riderless charger of the 13th Light Dragoons, and mounted upon him, he escaped out of the valley.

In December, 1855, the Queen held a chapter of the most noble order of the Garter at the castle for the purpose of investing His Majesty the King of Sardinia with the order. Her Majesty wore a kirtle, mantle, hood and gold enamelled collar of the Garter, and also wore a magnificent diadem of diamonds. The Knights of the Garter with the officers of the order, entered the throne-room and took their seats at the table, the senior Knights nearer the Queen. The table was covered with purple velvet, with a deep border of gold lace and bullion fringe. The King wore the uniform of a Sardinian General, dark blue with silver appointments, and was attended by the ladies and officers of his court. Her Majesty the Queen and Knights of the Garter received the King standing, and His Majesty was conducted to a seat in a chair of State, placed on the right hand of the Sovereign. The Queen announced to the

King of Sardinia that His Majesty had been elected a Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. Garter King of Arms, presented the Garter to the Queen, and Her Majesty, assisted by His Royal Highness Prince Albert, buckled it on the left leg of His Majesty, the Chancellor pronouncing the following admonition :

To the honour of God omnipotent, and in memorial of the blessed martyr St. George, tie about the leg, for thy renown, this Noble Garter; wear it as the symbol of the most illustrious order, never to be forgotten or laid aside, that thereby thou mayest be admonished to be courageous; and having undertaken a just war, in which thou shalt be engaged, thou mayest stand firm, valiantly fight, and successfully conquer. Garter King of Arms presented in like manner, the Ribband, having the George suspended, and the Queen, assisted by His Royal Highness the Prince, placed the same on the left shoulder of His Majesty, the Chancellor pronouncing the usual admonition. Her Majesty the Queen then gave the Accolade to the King of Sardinia, and His Majesty received the congratulations of Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge, and also of each of the Knights of the Garter present.

In connection with the war, Florence Nightingale whose name is immortal, left the comforts of a beautiful English home, in company with other gallant women to minister to the wants of

the sick, wounded and dying soldiers in the Crimea. Her pure and lovely character cannot be better described, than was done by a wounded soldier, "She would speak to one and another, and nod and smile to as many more ; but she couldn't do it to all, you know, for we lay there by hundreds ; but we, could kiss her shadow as it fell, and lay our heads on the pillow again content. Another said : " Before she came there was such cussin and swearin, but after that it was as holy as a church." A widow of a gallant soldier also went out with Miss Nightingale, she was the widow of the late Colonel Willoughby Moore, she became lady superintendent of the officers hospital at Scutari. She sacrificed her life for her country, and left an example to England's daughters, as her gallant husband did to England's sons. Colonel Moore perished in the Europa, rather than forsake the burning ship so long as any of his men were in it. How noble it is, faithfully to live and unflinchingly to die, in the discharge of duty. The spirit of these great women, touched deeply that of their Queen.

The heroic Sir Thomas Trowbridge, was among the bravest of the brave at the battle of the Alma, and his valour at Inkermann has become one of the glorious facts of history. When his skill and courage in directing the fire of a battery had contributed to turn the tide of battle—and when a fatal cannon shot had carried

away both his feet, the wounded hero refused to be conveyed to the rear, demanding of his fellow soldiers but to carry him to the front, and raise him on a gun carriage, that before bleeding to death, he might witness the successful issue of the conflict; and then coolly, in that position, continue to direct the fire of his battery until he shared in the final triumph and shouts of victory. Preserved by almost a miracle, to life—his services were crowned by every applause that a nation's gratitude could bestow. Afterwards his honours were hallowed and enhanced by the tears of pity from his Queen herself, as she placed them upon his shattered frame. This touching act was performed by his sovereign not long before she witnessed the simple and touching one performed by Napoleon III. in the court yard of the Palace of St. Cloud.

There are many persons living in Nova Scotia, who remember the great illuminations, bonfires and rejoicings everywhere over the province, when the news of the fall of Sebastopol reached these shores. The Queen and His Royal Highness were at Balmoral Castle, and the Duchess of Kent was at Abergeldie Castle, when the joyful news of the fall of Sebastopol reached the Royal party. The Queen immediately caused the joyful tidings to be circulated through the neighbourhood. Soon the Highlanders were seen approaching in groups in every direction.

The main body was led by Ross, Her Majesty's piper, playing favourite national airs. The erection of bonfires was but the work of a few minutes.

Some whisky having been procured, the health of the Queen and Prince and of the brave soldiers of the Crimea was drunk, whilst the air rang with acclamations.

Her Majesty and the Duchess of Kent, with the ladies of the suit, viewed the distant scene from the windows of the castle. It was one of surpassing wildness and beauty. The country for a considerable distance was lighted by vast bonfires, the ruddy flames from which were reflected from the windows and walls of the castle. The picturesque figures of the Highlanders, who had collected in great numbers, were seen against the flames, and their shouts were heard far and wide through the glen. A little before twelve o'clock, the whole concourse of peasants, workmen, ghillies and others, descended from the summit of the Craig Gobhain and assembling before the castle windows, sang "God Save the Queen;" and after three hearty cheers for the Queen, and three for the British army, gradually dismissed.

FROM THE CORONATION TO CONFEDERATION.

If the reader will glance back, we will trace together from the coronation, some leading

events down to the confederation of the provinces of British North America. The day of the Queen's coronation, Fleet street peddlers were selling lucifer matches at a half penny each. She was eighteen years old when she became Queen by the death of William IV. on June 20th, 1837. With her coronation robes, she wore the insignia of the Order of the Garter, the highest order of Knighthood in England. Old Mr. Grenville says that she blushed with embarrassment when her elderly uncles had to kneel and swear allegiance to her on her accession. It is said the Queen had to propose to her husband. Once she asked him if he liked England. And he replied very much. Then why would you leave it? she asked. By little enquiries of this kind, it is reported, she ascertained the state of his feelings, and finally made a declaration. The law gave Prince Albert no exact social precedence. Lord Albermarle, master of the house, maintained that he had the right to sit in the Queen's carriage on state occasions and not the Prince Consort. The Duke of Wellington, however, gave his opinion that the Queen could put Lord Albermarle where she liked, either on top of the coach or beneath it, or anywhere else.

When the Queen ascended the throne, the locomotives Rocket and Planet were capable of a speed of eight miles an hour. In 1838, three

roads were built and a remarkable speed of thirty-eight miles an hour was obtained under favourable conditions. In 1837, the journey from Liverpool to London occupied sixty hours.

In the first year of Victoria's reign, His Excellency Sir Colin Campbell being governor of Nova Scotia, one of the principal matters discussed by the Council, was the proposed measure of the late Governor-General (Lord Durham) for the union of the British North American Colonies. His Excellency proposed to form a government for the British colonies in North America, which, whilst it maintained the supremacy of the mother country, and protected the common interest of all the colonies, should leave to each the arrangement of its own peculiar affairs. The Legislative Council decided against the adoption of this plan, and directed the delegates whom they were sending to England to oppose it. And nothing came of the scheme at that time.

The exhibition of 1851, is one of the events of the Queen's reign, which opened up new highways for the intercourse of nations, and brought them to see, that invention, extension of industry and commercial enterprise are the main foundations of the greatness and power of christianized countries. After two thousand years, England in the early reign of Victoria revived the occasions of public competition. It

was to be no longer man alone who descended into the arena, that multitudes might admire the vigor, beauty and symmetry of his muscular development, but the ingenious machinery created by him for multiplying his powers and regulating his labour. In these exhibition palaces, it is seen that invention is man's attribute. The product of man's industry in a thousand varied forms is here gathered together from the four corners of the world. Parliaments, peoples, kings, presidents, queens and emperors now sanction these immense gatherings, and are yearly offering inducements to different races to mingle together, as the many waters. The English exhibition of 1851, and that of France in 1855, are the foundations of all those great expositions which have dotted every civilized country since that time. The nations now are truly advancing to that happy state, when their interests will be so intermingled, that neither happiness nor misfortune will be able to touch one nation without affecting the other.

ROYAL COMMISSION.

The Queen's Royal Commission to Great Britain, Ireland and the Colonies is thus expressed :—" Whereas, amid the glorious successes which through the power of Almighty God, has attended our arms during the present war, many soldiers, sailors, and marines, serving in

our armies and fleets, have gallantly fallen in battle, or by other casualties during the war: and many who shall hereafter be engaged in conflict, or in the further prosecution of hostilities, may also nobly sacrifice their lives in our service, while protecting the invaded liberties of our Ally, and repressing the lawless ambition of our enemies:

“ And whereas it hath been represented to us, that many of our loving subjects throughout our Kingdom and Dominion, actuated by a just sense of the sacred right of those who fell in the Country’s service and in support of our just cause of war, are anxiously desiring of testifying their loyalty and love to us and to our throne, by a just and generous benevolence toward the widows and orphans of those our soldiers, sailors and marines who have been so killed, or who may hereafter die amid the ravages and casualties of war, and also by their gifts and subscriptions to contribute a portion of those means, with which our nation has been blessed, toward succouring, educating and relieving those who by the loss of their husbands and parents in battle, or by death in active service in the present war, are unable to sustain or support themselves.”

A writer of the time says, “ That no sooner had the Royal Commission appeared, than the flood-gates of charity were quickly opened;

subscriptions flowed in ; every city, every township, every parish in the land had its meetings its committees, its subscription lists. The thanksgiving day for the harvest was made a day for offerings of the more substantial sort dedicated to the same object."

Beside all this the Directors of the Crystal Palace devoted the receipts of two Saturdays and the Emperor Napoleon sent them his splendid band (that of Leo Guides) to draw crowded houses. At all the theatres great benefits showed the interest of the play goers in this most worthy cause. And last, though far from the least, the working men whether in public dockyards, on board ship in the large engineering and manufacturing establishments, or in private work shops and solitary garrets, with clerks, merchants, bankers and all sorts of commercial or professional firms, gave their quota at the call of their Queen. And in the British Colonies as soon as the Commission of Her Majesty was made known, all hearts were stirred to action, and magnificent contributions were sent to the Mother Land. Australia sent £38,948, sterling, East Indies, £56,630, and British Guiana, Hong Kong, Gibralter, Ceylon, Cape of Good Hope, Trinidad, Bahamas, Bermuda, New Zealand, Malta, and the Mauritius, all contributed handsomely. The Canadas by private subscription gave £18,374, sterling, and

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and P. E. Island £15,053, beside votes of money for the object in the Canadian and Maritime Province Legislature. Newfoundland also contributed handsomely. The grand total received from all the colonies towards the Patriotic Fund was £143,358, sterling, or if put into dollars, would amount to nearly three quarters of a million by private subscription. In England the Queen and Prince Albert headed the list with magnificent gifts. The Queen's invitation went straight to the colonial heart, no ruler ever met with a more hearty response in so short a time. The colonists loved their Queen. She merited their love. They showed that they felt with her for the sorrowing ones in the Mother land, and for those suffering and gallant men in camp, field and hospital, far from friends and home. There is something in that little word home, which lifts the heart and excites intense emotion in every true colonial breast. The old home of our sires, how we have always loved it. We can understand something of the feeling of the British soldier when on service in a strange land, as he hears the bugle play "Home Sweet Home" while sitting around the camp fire, how silently he will listen to the thrilling notes as he turns aside his head from the watch fire, with a tear in his eye and looks toward home and thinks of loved ones there. We love the old

home of our father's and have always been proud of the bravery and gallantry of our race.

Close upon the heels of the Crimean War came the Indian Mutiny, with all its horrors, which resulted in taking out of the hands of the East India Company, the government of that vast territory.

About this time iron clad ships were introduced and the navies of the world have since been revolutionized. In 1860, the Prince of Wales visited Canada and the United States. Queensland was added in the same year to the Australian colonies. And in the same year justice was done to the English Jews by the removal of their political disabilities. The Queen's first visit was made to Ireland in 1861, a year made sorrowful by the death of the Prince Consort. In 1867 was the Abyssinian war, and also in this year the second Reform Act was passed. And in this year the British North America Act was passed, and Nova Scotia became a province of the Canadian Union. Then followed in quick succession, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, the creation of the London School Board, and the proclaiming Her Majesty Empress of India.

PRIME MINISTERS.

The first thirty years of Queen Victoria's reign she had the following prime ministers as

councillors. When she ascended the throne, Lord Melbourne. In 1841, Sir Robert Peel. In 1846, Lord John Russell. In 1852, Earl of Derby. In 1852, Lord Aberdeen. In 1855, Lord Palmerston. In 1858, Earl of Derby. In 1859, Lord Palmerston. In 1865, Earl Russell. In 1866, Earl of Derby.



CHAPTER V.

Charlottetown Convention.

When business firms have been struggling year after year to keep themselves afloat and avoid bankruptcy, they sometimes hit upon the scheme of enlarging their capital out of the funds of other firms. Often their first aim is to employ agents to communicate with business establishments in other cities or towns, that are reported financially sound. In some instances these agents are sent to confer with the members of these sound firms, and if possible, to induce them to become partners in their scheme. These agents are sometimes, clever, ambitious and unscrupulous. Their reputation and reward depends upon their success. In this way some firms and corporations have been enabled to tide over financial shoals and launch out into deep water. Sometimes these smaller and sounder firms have profited by their union of interest with the larger ones, and at other times have become seriously crippled by the result. The agents are always great gainers if successful.

It also sometimes happens that two or three commercial firms in good standing and with first

class credit, desire to unite under one name to add to their prosperity. Their business being much the same and all in good working order, they feel that it would not only be in the interest of themselves, but of their employers and their customers to unite.

As it is in the commercial world, so it is in the political world. The union of Nova Scotia with New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island would have been similar to the latter, the union of Nova Scotia with the Canadas was similar to the former.

Long before the British North America Act was passed in the British Parliament, the two political parties of Canada (Reform and Conservative) had so mismanaged the affairs of the provinces, that they had brought themselves to an absolute and perilous dead lock. Thus brought face to face with provincial bankruptcy, the leaders of the two parties formed a coalition, and a government was formed with the following programme :

“The government is prepared to pledge itself to bring in a measure next session for the purpose of removing existing difficulties by introducing the federal principle in Canada, coupled with such provisions as will permit the northern provinces and the North West territory to be incorporated with the same system of government.”

Within a month of the formation of this coalition government, it appointed delegates to attend the convention which the Maritime Provinces had previously appointed to meet at Charlottetown.

On the 12th of September, 1864, the Ontario and Quebec delegates met in convention the delegates of the Maritime Provinces, and at once proceeded to business with closed doors. The result of the Canadian's visit was that the Charlottetown Convention adjourned, without attending at all to the business for which the three maritime province legislatures had created it.

Another convention, called the intercolonial convention was summoned, by the Governor General to meet at Quebec, October 10th, 1864, just twenty-eight days after the time appointed for the meeting of the maritime delegates at Charlottetown. Accordingly this convention met at Quebec, and was composed of six delegates from Upper Canada, six from Lower Canada, seven from New Brunswick, seven from Prince Edward Island, and five from Nova Scotia. The Quebec convention sat also with closed doors, and nothing but the bare result of the deliberations was known. The convention sat seventeen days, during which time a constitution was adopted, and the convention adjourned. The names of the delegates to the Quebec convention were as follows :

New Brunswick was represented by :—

HON. S. L. TILLEY, Provincial Secretary.
" J. M. JOHNSON, Attorney General.
" J. H. GRAY, M. P. P.
" E. B. CHANDLER, M. L. C.
" W. H. STEEVES, M. L. C.
" C. FISHER.
" P. MITCHELL.

The delegates from Nova Scotia were :—

HON. CHARLES TUPPER, Provincial Sec'y.
" W. A. HENRY, Attorney General.
" R. B. DICKIE.
" J. McCULLY.
" A. G. ARCHIBALD.

From Prince Edward Island the delegates were :—

HON. COL. GRAY, President of the Council.
" E. PALMER, Attorney General.
" W. H. POPE, Provincial Secretary.
" G. COLES.
" T. H. HAVILAND.
" E. WHALAN.
" A. A. MACDONALD.

Those from Newfoundland were :—

HON. F. B. S. CARTER, Speaker H. of A.
" AMBROSE SHEA.

Those from Ontario and Quebec were :

HON. SIR ETIENNE P. TACHÉ, Premier.
" J. A. MACDONALD, Attorney Gen'l. W.
" G. E. CARTIER, Attorney Gen'l., East.
" W. McDougall, Provincial Secretary.

HON. GEORGE BROWN, Pres. of the Council.

- “ A. T. GALT, Finance Minister.
- “ A. CAMPBELL, Com. of Crown Lands.
- “ OLIVER MOWATT, Postmaster General.
- “ H. L. LANGEVIN, Solicitor Gen., East.
- “ T. D'ARCY McGEE, Minister of Ag'ture.
- “ J. COCKBURN, Solicitor General, West.
- “ J. C. CHAPAIIS, Com. of Public Works.

The above is a list of those men who represented the provinces at the Quebec convention. The government of Ontario and Quebec, twelve in number, attended the convention in a body. The delegation of the Canadas was one well mixed with Grits and Conservatives as will be seen from the list above. If this delegation could possibly gain the support of the delegates of any one other province, they knew they would secure a strong position. They accomplished this end. The members of the Reform and Conservative Government, of the Canadas were well aware, that if they adopted any other measure, less secret and less hurried, to bring about a union of the six provinces, or a union of a majority of them, it would have proved abortive. It was the terrible dilemma into which most of these twelve Canadian delegates had plunged their provinces, that made them so determined to bring about the union of peoples in some respects differing in race, language, education and religion.

The rush with which confederation was pushed through the parliament of Upper and Lower Canada, without having been submitted to the people, or scarcely having been discussed upon the hustings, shows the extreme difficulty in which this coalition government was placed, and the determined and quick effort made by the members to extricate their provinces from their bankrupt condition as speedily as possible. They must have felt that the step on which they had decided was bold, but they knew well that bold attacks give success generally.

It will be seen that the resolutions passed by the Legislatures of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, gave the delegates to the Charlottetown convention no power or authority to consider a union with the Canadas. The delegates to the Charlottetown convention delegated themselves to meet the government of the Canadas at Quebec. The resolutions of the Maritime Province Legislatures were alike in form and read as follows:

“That his excellency, the lieutenant governor, be authorized to appoint delegates—not to exceed five, to confer with delegates who may be appointed by the other Maritime Provinces, for the purpose of discussing the expediency of a union of these provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick under one government and legislature, the report of the said

delegates to be laid before the legislatures of the colonies before any action shall be taken in regard to the proposed question."

Had not the Quebec Convention swallowed up the Charlottetown delegation, is there a man living in Nova Scotia to-day, who was an elector at the time of confederation, believes that Maritime Union would have been accomplished, or even attempted in reality without the question having first been submitted to the people? It is doubtful if there be one. The Canadians were bound to keep the question of Maritime Union from being put to the electors of the Maritime Provinces. They knew that a consolidation of interest in these provinces would put the greater union off for years to come, if not forever. And the state of Upper and Lower Canada would, if possible, become more desperate.

The impartial historian who by and by writes the true and inward history of confederation will properly describe the men who gathered at the Charlottetown convention from Nova Scotia. The greater union has not covered or effaced their record in that convention. Time may record their hidden acts, their secret correspondence, their confidential conversations, and their intrigues with others. The impartial and honest historian will perhaps be in a position to state the motives and intrigues, which led them from principles of right to unite with those who were

careless and indifferent to the feelings, rights and liberty of Nova Scotians. He may show in the clear light of knowledge, the weakness, the selfishness, the ambitions and vanities of those Nova Scotians who formed a part of the Charlottetown convention. Perhaps he will state that the rewards of their duplicity have been official distinction and imperial recognition.

The delegates from Nova Scotia to the Charlottetown Convention were :—

HON. CHARLES TUPPER, Provincial Sec'y.

- “ W. A. HENRY, Attorney General.
- “ R. B. DICKIE.
- “ J. McCULLY.
- “ A. G. ARCHIBALD.

From New Brunswick to the Charlottetown Convention the delegates were :—

HON. S. L. TILLEY, Provincial Secretary.

- “ J. M. JOHNSON, Attorney General.
- “ J. H. GRAY, M. P. P.
- “ E. B. CHANDLER, M. L. C.
- “ A. H. STEEVES, M. L. C.

Prince Edward Island was represented by the following gentlemen :—

HON. COL. GRAY, Pres. of the Council.

- “ E. PALMER, M. L. C., Attorney Gen'l.
- “ W. H. POPE, Colonial Secretary.
- “ A. A. MACDONALD, M. L. C.
- “ G. COLES, M. P. P.

The Canadians who came down and passed over to Charlottetown as swift ships and as eagles that hasteth to the prey were:—

HON. J. A. MACDONALD.

“ GEORGE BROWN.
“ A. T. GALT.
“ G. E. CARTIER.
“ WM. McDougall.
“ T. D'ARCY McGEE.

These Canadian statesmen were brave, determined, secretive, discerning, skilful men and adepts in manipulating their fellow men. Their business at the time was to make what seemed political impossibilities, possible. On their way from Canada, it is said, there was among them a doubting Thomas or two. However, they would advance on Charlottetown in a solid body, capture the convention and retreat to Quebec to celebrate their victory by a more important one near the ramparts of the historic town where the bravery of Montcalm and victory of Wolfe were not forgotten. Quebec the place of French heroism and British valour was a locality well suited to inspire confidence in the breasts of Macdonald, Cartier and Brown. Out of danger and what seemed their sure political destruction, these men felt they must gain safety, and safety and relief they found under the ramparts of Quebec. Doubts vanished, the victory was virtually won. From bankruptcy, coalition and

the principles of the union of Upper and Lower Canada, they had stepped on the threshold of a greater union. They looked for no imperial honours if unsuccessful, nor the acclamations of their friends. While they looked to the British Parliament to get them finally out of their trouble, they had craftily chosen the time to hoodwink English statesmen, and blaze forth their own loyalty to the mother country. Under the pretext of fears of an American invasion or that war with the United States was inevitable, they implored the British government and parliament to come to their assistance. They must have smiled at their success, as from time to time they deceived the statesmen of Britain. They also must have had a jolly reunion after their successful visit to Prince Edward Island.

A story has been told of an incident which occurred when they were en route to meet the Maritime delegates at the Charlottetown Convention. The story may be true or it may not. It is this:—An evening or two before arriving at the capital of the Island, when some of the party were rather mirthful, one of the number looked quite sad. He was invited to brace up. He replied: “Gentlemen, you may be happy and laughing and hopeful under some transient influence. But our combined energy and discretion must not be weakened by your inspired visions.” One of the party rose to his feet, not

among the jingling of sleigh bells, for the summer evenings had scarcely finished their course, and said in reply, in sober accents : " Qu'il n'y rien d'impossible ; Je vien le faire moi meme."

The only way to learn of men accurately is by their acts. Some people believe what they wish to believe, and report what they wish others to believe, because it is to the interest of their leaders and party. The popular conception of leading politicians and statesmen, a conception not supported by investigation and facts and based on sound judgment, is often as far from the real truth as a tale of fiction.

It was not fears of an American invasion, but the desperate state of the Canadian provinces, that impelled the Canadian statesmen on, in their desperate work to save themselves and their provinces from utter ruin. They were compelled to sin in their own defence to preserve their reputations.



CHAPTER VI.

The British North America Act, Unpopular in Nova Scotia.

The validity of the Act of Union was determinedly disputed in Nova Scotia at the elections of eighteen hundred and sixty-seven. The people showed their strength and were as seven to one against Confederation. Out of nineteen representatives, eighteen were elected opposed to the union, and Hon. Dr. Charles Tupper the only unionist elected obtained his seat by a small majority of seventy. Hon. Adams G. Archibald was defeated for his seat as Secretary of State for the provinces in John A. Macdonald's coalition government, and being then unable to obtain a constituency, was subsequently obliged to resign his seat in the first Union Cabinet. There was not a constituency in Nova Scotia, where a defeated unionist could look to for a chance of election. Some of the leading papers of the country of that time, openly stated that: "Never before in Canada have votes commanded such prices or found such a buoyant market as during the present contest." Those same papers might have also stated, that the corrupt election practices of the United Provinces had never disgraced Nova

Scotia before. The result of those contests has been a barrier to the expression of free public opinion in this province for thirty years. The gold of Canada, the influence of the Local Government, and the bullion of the Bank of England could not have changed the votes of the electors of Nova Scotia at the time of confederation. The people were honestly and intelligently opposed to the union. In every free and enlightened country, no political or constitutional changes, which affect the whole electorate and people, should be brought about, without their consent at the polls.

In a former chapter, the Charlottetown Convention and the one afterwards held have been mentioned, and before proceeding further with the present chapter, some events that transpired in the Canadian and Nova Scotia Legislatures soon after those conventions had brought their proceedings to a close will be related. On the third of February, 1865, Sir E. P. Taché moved in the Canadian Legislative Council :—

“ That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty praying that she may be graciously pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of uniting the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island in one government, with provisions based on certain resolutions which were adopted at a

conference of delegates for the said colonies, held at the city of Quebec on the tenth of October, eighteen hundred and sixty-four."

At the same hour and on the same day the Hon. John A. Macdonald made the same motion in the Canadian House of Assembly. The motion was adopted in the Assembly by a majority of fifty-eight.

The people of Nova Scotia had never been consulted on the question of union with Canada, Tupper, Henry, Dickie, McCully and Archibald excepted, yet the Legislature of Canada took upon itself to pass a resolution to address the Queen to interfere with their constitutional rights and hand the province over to a combination of politicians who represented a disorganized and dissatisfied people. A combination who had arrived at a point, when it was found impossible to control their own political machine.

A few months later the Hon. Charles Tupper in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, submitted the following resolution :—

"Whereas in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that a confederation of the British North American colonies should take place; Resolved therefore, that His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor be authorized to appoint delegates to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of union which will effectually insure just provisions for the rights and interests

of this province." The motion passed with a majority of twelve, while at the same time it would have been defeated at the polls by an overwhelming vote, and Dr. Tupper and his associates were well aware of this. But they had made up their minds to override the liberty of the people, cost what it might. They all got their reward but they lost the hearts and approbation of their fellow colonists. Some of them have lived to see that they have never regained them.

To the everlasting honor of the Prince Edward Island Legislature, it was not influenced by the Quebec conference. That province entered the union seven years later of its own free will and upon its own terms. And the Newfoundland Legislature acted according to the well understood wishes of the people of the ancient colony.

During the summer of eighteen hundred and sixty-six, the delegates whose legislatures had pronounced in favour of confederation made arrangements to meet and settle the details and determine the precise terms of the Act giving effect to the union of the provinces of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, which was to be submitted for adoption by the Imperial Parliament. The delegates were appointed by the several governments.

From Upper Canada, they were Hon. John A. Macdonald, Hon. William Macdougall. From

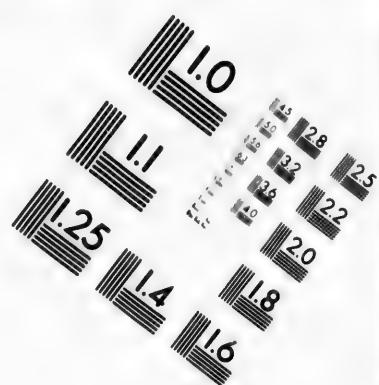
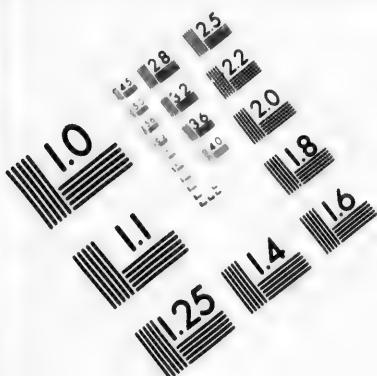
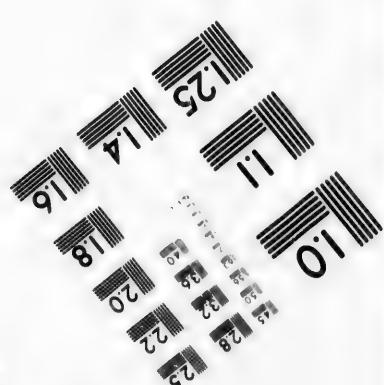
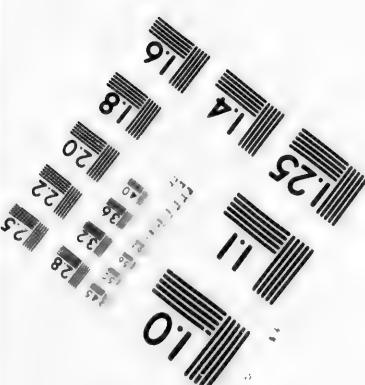
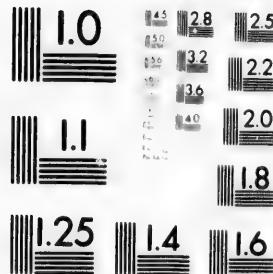


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Lower Canada, Hon. W. P. Howland, Hon. A. T. Galt and H. L. Langevin. From New Brunswick, Hon. S. L. Tilley, Hon. C. Fisher, Hon. P. Mitchell, Hon. R. D. Wilmot and Hon. J. M. Johnson. From Nova Scotia, Hon. Charles Tupper, Hon. W. A. Henry, Hon. J. W. Ritchie, Hon. A. G. Archibald and Hon. J. McCully.

These gentlemen met according to appointment in London, England, early in December, eighteen hundred and sixty-six, and immediately proceeded to business.

On the seventh of February, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, a bill for the confederation of the four provinces was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Carnavon, Colonial Secretary, and was received with approbation by all parties. On the nineteenth it was read a second time, was passed through committee on the twenty-second, and on the twenty-sixth of the same month was read a third time. It was pushed through the House of Lords in less than three weeks. It was brought down to the House of Commons on the twenty-eighth of February and was moved to a second reading. It was opposed in the House of Commons by no men of prominence, with the exception of Hon. John Bright. It passed its second reading without a division. It passed through committee of the whole on the fourth of March, and was read a third time and finally passed the House of Commons on

the eighth of March, occupying but ten days in its passage through that illustrious chamber. A Bill to disestablish the Church in Ireland, or the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill have caused much more discussion, than the one to alter the constitution of four British colonies in America. On the twenty-eighth of March the Act received the royal assent and became one of the laws of the Empire. Nova Scotia became a province of Canada according to the will of the British Parliament, and in direct opposition to the will of her own loyal subjects. Her Majesty issued her proclamation on the twenty-second of May, declaring that the Dominion should commence its existence on the first of July eighteen hundred and sixty-seven. It is likely that some of those who voted in the British Parliament, were as ignorant of the condition of the people of Nova Scotia, as they were of the condition of some of the dusky tribes who inhabited the "Dark Continent." But it is not likely, that any true lover of colonial liberty, has ever envied or will ever envy, the lot of those Nova Scotians, who assisted in writing the Act, which was introduced in the House of Lords and concluded in the Commons; though each in turn should have seized the premiership of his country, and worn the Order of the Bath, or by the anointing oil of British statesmen have been established High Priest of Imperial Federation.

If some shipwrecked sailor from this province who for thirty years had been a cast away on some lonely island, where he had never received any communication from the outer world, should suddenly have placed in his hand, the history of Confederation he would sometimes stop, to wonder at a tale, which seemed a marvel of fiction, fact and farce. If assured by someone, t' at what he had been reading was pure truth, he would be filled with sorrow and anger, sorrow for his countrymen, and angry at the men who stole away their liberty. He would exclaim, it is a pity my country had not more faithful and more devoted friends in her legislature. This history of my province has changed my miserable life greatly,—so greatly that I should not wish now to return to my native land, but to see my friends. I feel only disgust and contempt for those men in whom my friends in Nova Scotia confided.



CHAPTER VII.

The First Union Government.

Lord Monck, the Governor-General, assigned to Hon. John A. Macdonald the task of forming the first ministry under confederation.

Mr. Macdonald in carrying out the order of Lord Monck, plainly intimated that as a coalition had been formed in the province of Canada in 1864 to promote the scheme of confederation, so it would become necessary to form another coalition government to conduct the affairs of the New Dominion now that confederation had been accomplished.

The idea by no means met with the hearty approval of all the leaders of the respective parties and was strongly opposed by members of the clear Grit Party. The Hon. John A. Macdonald formed a ministry of thirteen, six of whom were conservatives, six reformers and one who had been a member of the reform party for some time, but had left it for religious and personal reasons. Mr. Macdonald said, in forming the government, "I desire to bring to my aid in the new government those men, irrespective of party, who represent the majorities in the different provinces of the union. I do not want it to be felt by any section in the country that they

have no representative in the cabinet, and no influence in the government." The ministry as formed by Mr. Macdonald was composed of the following men:—

Hon. JOHN A. MACDONALD, Conservative.
" ADAM J. F. BLAIR, Liberal.
" ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Conservative.
" WILLIAM PEARCE HOWLAND, Liberal.
" GEORGE E. CARTIER, Conservative.
" WILLIAM McDougall, Liberal.
" ALEXANDER T. GALT, Conservative.
" SAMUEL LEONARD TILLEY, Liberal.
" JEAN CHARLES CAPAIS, Conservative.
" PETER MITCHELL, Liberal.
" HECTOR L. LANGEVIN, Conservative.
" ADAMS G. ARCHIBALD, Liberal.
" EDWARD KENNY, Conservative.

The cabinet stood regarding the provinces as follows: Ontario was given five members, three of whom were liberals or reformers, that party having the ascendancy in the province. Quebec was given four, all being conservatives, this party being in a large majority in the province. New Brunswick was given two members, both being liberals. Nova Scotia was also given two members, one was a liberal and the other a conservative. Hon. Adams G. Archibald certainly did not represent the liberal party of Nova Scotia, and Hon. Edward Kenny had certainly less of a party to represent than the liberals had

in Quebec. The Hon. Adams G. Archibald and the Hon. Edward Kenny therefore for a short time represented themselves.

New Brunswick from the formation of the first Union Government exhibited a disposition to give confederation a fair trial and the elements of Ontario clear grittism have never taken a very strong hold in that province. The good old liberalism, that has done so much for the sister province has not been superseded by the grittism of the Upper Provinces. New Brunswick got her difficulties settled largely to her satisfaction, because her representatives were wise and moderate, and supported the coalition government of the Hon. John A. Macdonald whenever they felt such support was in the interest of their constituents and province. After the Nova Scotia members had accepted the Union they became rigid unionists, and they accepted it as soon as they were sworn in and took their seats. And they sealed the fate of their province when they cast their first vote for or against any question which affected the Dominion at large. This will scarcely be denied by any person in Nova Scotia or in any other part of Canada, who knows anything of parliamentary practice or the constitution of his country.

Taking the four provinces, it will be found that three of them pronounced unmistakably in favour of Hon. John A. MacDonald's coalition

government. These provinces were, Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick. Nova Scotia alone pronounced as decidedly against it. Thus through her representatives she placed herself in antagonism to all the conservatives and moderate liberals of the three provinces, and firmly allied herself through her members with the clear grits of Ontario. The Confederation at that time numbered four provinces only. Prince Edward Island stood wisely aloof, choosing her own time to enter the union.

To explain what the professed principles of the Clear Grit party of Ontario were, and with what high sounding words and professions they were about to enter the union, a resolution or two passed at a great Reform convention held in the Music Hall, Toronto, on June twenty seventh, 1867, will be given here in full. The first resolution was moved by Hon. Edward Blake and reads as follows:—

“That this convention records its high gratification, that the long and earnest contest of the Reform Party for the great principles of representation by population, and local control over local affairs, has at last been crowned with triumphant success; and it claims from the people of Upper Canada the meed of gratitude due from a just and generous people to those who, by years of self sacrificing labour, have peacefully achieved great and invaluable changes.”

The local control over local affairs mentioned in the above resolution, was that Quebec would no longer interfere in matters relating only to Ontario, and that Confederation would dissolve a union, which was brought to a political dead lock and provincial bankruptcy, while statesmen had been trembling on the brink of a chasm, where a fearful crash seemed imminent. The invaluable constitutional changes, were the union of the four provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, for which the Grit party had been fighting so long, and now saw its labours crowned with triumphant success, and freeing Ontario from the direct interference of Quebec in matters purely provincial.

The next resolution was moved by the Hon. George Brown, it reads as follows:—

“That while the new Federal Constitution for the United Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, doubtless contains obvious defects, yet we unhesitatingly and joyfully recognize that the measure, as a whole, is based on equitable principles, and removes the barriers that have heretofore stood in the way of good government in this province, and in behalf of the great Reform Party of Upper Canada, this convention heartily accepts the new Constitution about to be inaugurated, with a determination to work it loyally and patiently, and to

provide such amendments as experience from year to year may prove to be expedient."

In this resolution Mr. Brown admits that the new Federal constitution contains obvious defects. The reader will see later on with what spirit his great party treated some of these obvious defects. And how loyally and patiently it worked together to rectify the wrongs, the new constitution had brought to Nova Scotia. The new constitution Mr. Brown also admits, removed the barriers that stood in the way of good government in the province of Ontario. One of the great barriers to good government, must have been the French element in the legislature of the United Provinces. This barrier the leader of the great Reform Party, thought would become less powerful and less annoying to Ontario in the larger union. But time and experience have proved that this barrier did not stand so much in the way of the peace and prosperity of Nova Scotia, as the great Reform Party did at the outset of Confederation. The leaders of this great Reform Party invited the representatives from Nova Scotia to place their necks under the yoke of Clear Grittism, and then whipped them into line to kick at their province, by voting against a partially satisfactory compromise.

Mr. Brown in supporting the resolution said ; that he defended the coalition government of

1864, that he had been a member of that government, that that government was a necessity and the only means of bringing about Confederation, but now that end had been obtained, coalition had served its purpose and should not again be resorted to. He strongly denounced those men of the Reform Party who favoured coalition and most especially the Hon. W. P. Howland and the Hon. William Macdougall who had then accepted seats in the then proposed cabinet of Hon. John A. Macdonald. He claimed that after the Reform Party had fought a hard and long fight and gained the victory of Confederation, it was now asked, by the terms of the proposed coalition to give up all that it had won.

Mr. Brown admits, that confederation was only brought about by the enduring energy of the Reform Party and in its coalition with the Conservative Party for that purpose. He was perfectly willing to support a coalition to free Ontario from the influence of Quebec, but he would oppose to the bitter end any coalition, that attempted to satisfy the people of Nova Scotia in their righteous demands. The unity* of the Grit Party of Ontario, was of more moment than the happy unity of all portions of Canada.

The Hon. W. P. Howland, one of the true Ontario liberals, a class composed of the best

men in that province, in speaking to the resolution moved by Mr. Brown said:— That he claimed by virtue of the union, old party lines had been swept away ; that the government to come into existence under the new constitution had, at that time no declared policy, and that it was unfair to attack it before it had announced what it intended to do. He believed that new issues would arise and an honest opposition be formed, but considered opposition for oppositions' sake, unjust and ungenerous. He stated that he and his colleagues had consented to join Mr. Macdonald because they considered that the great Liberal Party of Upper Canada should be represented in the first cabinet of the Dominion, and also because he did not think they should desert those reformers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick who worked so zealously to accomplish the union. Those liberals who allied themselves, with Mr. Macdonald afterwards proved to be amongst the warmest supporters of Nova Scotia in her advocacy for better terms. And the Hon. Joseph Howe was not long in finding out that Liberalism and Clear Grittism in their principles, were as far apart as the Republicans and ultra Democrats in the United States. The great parting of the ways, which had united the Clear Grits, Liberals and Conservatives till confederation was accomplished, has done more to corrupt the constituencies of Canada than

any other event since confederation. It embittered parties and has led to all kinds of disreputable means to obtain and to hold power. A long lease of power and an equally long term of opposition, have still further widened the breach between the parties, until it has really become more a contention for power than for principle.

Fox once addressed the following reproaches to Pitt:—"He remembered the day he had first congratulated the House on the acquisition of Pitt's abilities; it had been his pride to fight side by side with him the battles of the constitution, little thinking that he would one day desert his principles, and lend himself to be the instrument of that secret influence which they had both combatted so successfully. He might have been prepared to find a formidable rival in the Right Hon. gentleman—a rival that would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory—but he never could have expected that he would have descended so low as to be the persecutor of any man."

The two great parties of Ontario had stood side by side in fighting for the union, but afterwards one of them found it convenient for party purposes to drift away, and throw defiance in the face of Nova Scotians, while patting their weak and misguided representatives upon the back.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Anties at Ottawa.

The Anti Confederates elected and delegated to Ottawa in eighteen hundred and sixty seven, were not sent to legislate or vote upon matters concerning Upper and Lower Canada or New Brunswick, but if they allowed themselves to become sworn members of the House, to look solely after the interests of Nova Scotia. At that time the Legislature of Nova Scotia was petitioning the Queen and Imperial Parliament for a repeal of the British North America Act, so far as Nova Scotia was concerned. They knew that all their supporters desired was to be freed from the Act of union. It was fresh in their minds, that the legislature that had adopted the union resolution, had been turned adrift by an overwhelming majority of their fellow provincialists. As in all bodies of men, there are diversities of gifts, so it was among the representatives from Nova Scotia, but the same spirit, should have possessed them all, and that same spirit should have been, to have waited patiently the result of the petition of the Local Legislature to the Queen and Imperial Parliament, before uniting themselves with any

party at Ottawa. They believed the acts of the defeated Nova Scotia Legislature unconstitutional, and they must have seen the difficulties in the way, of persuading the Imperial Parliament to repeal the British North America Act. Consequently they should have remained quiet, till an answer of the Home Government was returned to the petition of the Local Legislature. That the acts of the Local Legislature were unconstitutional, few will deny. Mr. Plunkett in one of his great speeches on the Irish Act of Union, said.

"I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of parliament to do this act. I warn you do not lay your hands on the Constitution. I tell you that, if circumstanced as you are, you pass this Act it will be a nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. You have not been elected for this purpose. You are appointed to make laws, not legislatures. You are appointed to act under the constitution, not to alter it. You are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators not to transfer them; and if you do so no man in the land is bound to obey you."

The electors in Nova Scotia were almost as one, in accord with the views held by Mr. Plunkett, and their representatives at Ottawa knew to a man their views. They were elected because they publicly confessed these views.

Mr. Gladstone in speaking upon his first measure for Home Rule in Ireland, and in relation to the duties of Irish members in the British House of Commons, laid down this principle, "that it must be admitted that in justice Ireland having her own parliament managing Irish affairs, could not claim to have any voice in purely English and Scotch concerns."

If the principles laid down by the great English liberal leader be right in relation to Irish members who might take their seats in the House of Commons, how much more sound, such a principle would have been in relation to Nova Scotian members who took their seats in the Canadian House of Commons while disavowing the validity of the British North America Act. But strong party spirit has often carried men far away from sound principle. And it did so at Ottawa in eighteen hundred and sixty-seven and eight, if not very often since that time. The very moment any Nova Scotia representative either by speaking or voting in the Canadian Commons on questions affecting the other provinces, at that moment he placed himself on record as a Dominion representative.

After the Imperial Government had watched the proceedings of the Anti Unionists, in the first session of the first parliament of Canada, the Duke of Buckingham, in June, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, sent a dispatch to Lord Monck,

Governor General of the Dominion, in relation to the petition of the Nova Scotia Legislature for a repeal of the Union. The Duke of Buckingham, in his dispatch, said he hoped the Dominion Government would consider the complaints of Nova Scotia, and meet them in a liberal spirit; this the Hon. John A. Macdonald and the Hon. G. E. Cartier proposed to do at a conference held in Halifax two months later, and failing then Mr. Macdonald renewed the subject on October the sixth by a letter to the Hon. Joseph Howe. In this communication he expressed the willingness of the Dominion Government to consider the question of taxation and to use every means possible to remove any cause of complaint. He also urged Mr. Howe that he should enter the Cabinet, so that Nova Scotia might be fairly represented therein. To this proposal Mr. Howe replied October twenty-first, to the effect, that although he preferred a repeal, he had very little hope of its being granted by the Gladstone Ministry any more than by the Disraeli Government. Under these circumstances he was disposed to enter into negotiations with a view to modifying the terms on which Nova Scotia had entered the Union.

Where the Hon. Joseph Howe made the great mistake of his life, was in not consulting his constituents in Nova Scotia, and especially in Hants County, before entering upon these

negotiations. Had he done so, it is not at all likely, the corrupt practices enacted in eighteen hundred and sixty-nine would have ever been witnessed. A generation later, it has freely been acknowledged, that, it is a pity for Hants County and a pity for Nova Scotia, that Mr. Howe should have been opposed in his attempt to enter the cabinet of Hon. John A. Macdonald.

After Mr. Howe had entered Hon. John A. Macdonald's government, he moved in the House of Commons: "that the House go into committee on resolutions, which provided for the debt of Nova Scotia being taken as \$9,186,000, and an extra subsidy of \$82,698 annually allowed for ten years." The Hon. Edward Blake with whom the anti-unionists had become closely allied, at once moved an amendment: "That the Act did not empower the parliament of Canada to change the basis of union. The Hon. Alexander McKenzie seconded Mr. Blake's amendment. Mr. Blake's motion was lost, fifty-seven voting for and ninety-six against. The debate was lengthy, the bill was adopted clause by clause, until the fifth was reached, when Mr. Blake moved to add to it; "that the grants and provisions made, and the British North America Act of eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, shall be in full settlement of all demands on Canada by Nova Scotia."

When the House met again the question of Better Terms for Nova Scotia was not allowed

to rest. Mr. Mills to kill the whole bill if possible, moved: "that this Act shall not take effect until ratified by the Imperial Parliament."

The Clear Grit element having determined to make one more effort, to cheat Nova Scotia out of the \$82,698 annually for ten years, it was moved by Mr. Blake: "that parliament was exceeding its powers by altering the financial arrangements provided for in the British North America Act." He was again defeated in his motion, but true to the British North America Act, which he and his party claim to be the fathers of, he determined to try again. He took a curious way to show his determined opposition to any meddling with the Act which brought Nova Scotia into confederation. There was in those days dual representation, a man could hold a seat in the Ontario Legislature as well as his seat in the House of Commons. He moved in the Ontario Legislature, "that an address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she would cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament for the purpose of removing all color for the parliament of the Dominion assuming the power to disturb the financial arrangements made in the British North America Act."

The address was carried in the Ontario Legislature where there was a large majority of the Grit element, and forwarded to the Queen. This motion in the Legislature of Ontario, openly

exposed the true feeling of the Clear Grit Party of Ontario toward Nova Scotia. They were Unionists of the most bitter kind and were bound to hold Nova Scotia to the very letter of the Act.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies decided that the Dominion Parliament had the power to alter the terms of the act, if it pleased it to do so. Neither was this the end of clear grit opposition to Nova Scotia. Mr. Blake again brought the subject before the House of Commons. He moved the following resolution :—

“That an humble address be presented to Her Most Gracious Majesty, praying that she will be pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament providing that the Parliament of Canada shall not have power to disturb the financial relations established by the British North America Act of eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, as allowed by the act respecting Nova Scotia.”

The debate on this motion brought out an opposition to Nova Scotian interests that for steady, united, prolonged, dogged and determined opposition on the part of the Grits has seldom been equaled in colonial parliamentary history. Mr. Blake's motion was defeated, as it deserved to be.

At this time the two parties from Nova Scotia in the House of Commons stood as follows: Out of nineteen members in the House, eighteen

were opposed to the union. There were, therefore, seventeen Anti-Confederate representatives from Nova Scotia, without counting the Hon. Joseph Howe. These were all present during the debate for better terms. And how many of them voted to leave the question open for future Parliaments to deal with it, and not to shut out this province for ever from any further appeal ? The answer is, but two from Nova Scotia beside Mr. Howe, and these two were Forbes and MacDougall, names ever to be remembered, not in their constituencies alone, but all over the province. Even from New Brunswick two true men were found noble enough in spirit and broad enough in view to vote for the amendment of the Imperial Act of Union in the interest of their sister province by the sea. These men were Anglin and Costigan, who belonged to the class of independent men that did so much for the Maritime Provinces previous to the days of Confederation.

If these matters had been put plainly and truthfully before the electors of Nova Scotia in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-six the people of the province would have been spared a useless agitation, and possibly a heavy provincial debt. The action taken by the Anti members from Nova Scotia in the Dominion House of Commons on the question of Better Terms placed them on record as uniting with the

stiffest Unionists of Canada and with the open enemies of Nova Scotia, the clear Grits of Ontario, with whom party came before principle, and with whom plain, broad, common sense acts, were discarded for selfish and party purposes. Most of those clear Grits professed to believe that any tampering with the British North America Act would bring about a disruption of the Union, the very thing the Anti representatives professed to desire, yet these Anti members supported the act in its entirety and put a second seal upon the fate of Nova Scotia. This is in brief what the Clear Grittism of Ontario has done for this province. It has driven many of the Independent Liberals of the country from its ranks, who for nearly a quarter of a century gave continued strength to the Conservative party. Canada should have a strongly united Liberal party, and it is hoped twenty-five years of opposition may at last have established such a party.

Finally in eighteen hundred and sixty-nine Mr. Blake told the Anti representatives from Nova Scotia, "that if after a trial of five years they were still dissatisfied with Confederation he, for one, would not keep the province of Nova Scotia in the Union." We shall see in a following chapter what efforts were made by the seventeen so-called Anti-Confederate members elected at an ensuing general election to hold Mr. Blake to his promise.

CHAPTER IX.

Misguided Nova Scotians.

On the thirtieth of January, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, the first Anti-Confederate government of Nova Scotia met, and shortly after passed an address to the Queen praying for a repeal of the Union as far as Nova Scotia was concerned. In the address may be found the following clause:—

“That from the time the scheme of Confederation was first devised in Canada until it was consummated by the Imperial Act in London, it was systematically kept from the consideration of the people of Nova Scotia at the polls, and the Executive Council and Legislature, in defiance of petitions signed by many thousands of the electors of this province, persistently and perseveringly prevented the same from being presented to the people.”

It is not unlikely that if the members of the Legislature of New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island had cast the same defiance in the face of the electors of those provinces as did those of the Legislature of Nova Scotia in the face of the electors of this province that the electors would have risen in their free manhood and surrounded the parliament buildings and

dragged from their seats the men who were tampering with their liberty and escorted them to their homes, with the caution there to remain. And they would have served them right. The Nova Scotia Legislature also resolved at the same time:—

“That the Imperial Parliament have no constitutional power to authorize a Governor-General, or any other subject of the Queen, to make senators or create any part of a legislature, with power to tax the people of Nova Scotia, or otherwise legislate for them, without a provincial statute authorizing them to do so.”

This Legislature reiterated the almost unanimous voice of the electors of Nova Scotia. The Legislature was all but entirely Anti-Union. At the election held the eighteenth of September, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, the people of Nova Scotia were granted their first opportunity of speaking at the polls their views of Confederation, and this was nearly three months after the proclamation of the Queen had brought the British North America Act into force. According to the views of the electors, each man from Nova Scotia who took a seat in the first Parliament of the Dominion took that seat simply as a delegate. They had no right to go there to legislate for Nova Scotia, and no right to legislate for other provinces or people of the Dominion. They had no business in the House

of Commons at Ottawa, except as delegates seeking the repeal of the Union as far as Nova Scotia was concerned. The only proper place or Legislature, the only constitutional place, to battle for repeal was in the Nova Scotia Legislature. It was the only acknowledged constitutional chambers in which Nova Scotians could sit and legislate. And when those eighteen Anti-Unionists allowed themselves to be sworn in members of the Canadian House of Commons and took their seats they sanctioned the British North America Act, which created those seats, by giving to Nova Scotia a certain number of representatives in the Canadian Parliament. After they had put the second seal on Confederation by their first act in Parliament, they pressed it the closer by uniting almost solidly with the most uncompromising Unionists in the Canadian provinces. After they had taken their seats they should not have allowed themselves to have received the appellation "Misguided Nova Scotians." They should have patiently and perseveringly waited and watched for a favorable opportunity, which must have arrived sooner or later, when they could have unitedly and independently pressed with advantage the claims of their fellow-provincialists. The dearest interests of their province called upon them, and called them loudly, to stand off from either Canadian party, free from the reins of Hon.

John A. Macdonald or the crook of Hon. George Brown. "Misguided," they chose the latter course and became a huddled and shrinking flock under the "Brown standard" of "no compensation nor compromise." In their manœuvres they displayed neither foresight nor patriotism; they became untrustworthy look-outs in their colony's darkest days. They sacrificed principle to party and laid Nova Scotia at the feet of Ontario and the Union, and within the clutches of the Clear Grits of Canada. It is said the late Thomas D'Arcy McGee, in conversation with a few of those Nova Scotians one evening on the course they were pursuing toward their province, exclaimed: "My God, men, where are your eyes?" There were, luckily for the Liberal party, in the House of Commons at that time some true Liberals, conscientious, unselfish, practical, and thoroughly accomplished men, who discharged the duties devolving upon them in a statesman-like way; men who were admired by all impartial and independent Nova Scotians; men who were consistent in their advocacy of Liberal principles; men whose dignity of character and weight of authority commanded respect. Such men endeavour to deserve well of their province or country, and they seldom look for any immediate recompense either in the way of empty praise or official honors. Such men work for their country more than for party. Among

such men, whatever may have been his party leanings, was the lamented Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee. And it has been truthfully said of him by one of Canada's greatest men, "that he might have lived a long and respected life had he chosen the easy path of popularity, rather than the stern one of duty. He has lived a short life, respected and beloved, and has died a heroic death, a martyr to the cause of his country. But he has been slain, and I fear slain because he preferred the path of duty." The interest of his friends he preferred before his own interest; the interest of his country before the interest of party. Listen to his manly, unselfish and grand words as he refuted the statement that he had been slighted, inasmuch as he had not been offered a portfolio in the new administration, while he held one in the old. He said that he had voluntarily offered to waive any claim to a seat in the new ministry, as he saw it was necessary for some of its members to retire so as to make room for those to be appointed to the Maritime Provinces, and that as Mr. Edward Kenny, an Irish Roman Catholic, had taken his place, he saw no reason for his Irish Catholic friends to fancy that they had in any way been slighted. He gave away, that an Irish Catholic from Nova Scotia might take his place.

It would be a happy thing for the Dominion at large, and for every province of Canada, if in

the political field of the country a majority of men like Mr. McGee could be found.

The Nova Scotia members did not seem to realize the importance of their province in the formation of the Dominion. The Canadians from the first, were wise enough to see that without Nova Scotia, confederation must be largely a failure, and in their distracted condition, drifting between the breakers, on either hand imminent peril, they caught at any means, constitutional or unconstitutional, true or false, open or secret, noble or ignoble, anything to save the credit of the colony and re-establish their own reputation and position, and fastened their anchor on Nova Scotia and rode out the storm. As orders came from Britain to pay out a little more cable, part of the Canadian crew with their assistants from this province jumped to the machinery of parliament, and with one long and strained effort sought to hold in tact every link. Lord Aberdeen is reported to have remarked at the National Societies' banquet of Halifax as follows:—"In fact I am almost tempted to paraphrase an old Aberdeenshire saying and exclaim: Take away Halifax and one or two hundred miles of adjacent country and where would Canada be."

In other words, take away Nova Scotia and where would Canada be. If by any freak or force of nature Nova Scotia were carried south

of the Gulf Stream and set there to become an island gem of the vast Atlantic, where would New Brunswick be? Quite likely all her Atlantic harbors would be either blocked by ice or most dangerous to approach for four or five months in the year. The New England coast might be almost as dangerous, and Canada would have no safe and satisfactory outlet on her eastern border for quite a portion of the year, and would be compelled to send her Atlantic exports and bring in her imports through United States territory. And in all probability the fishing grounds would be largely changed, and Prince Edward Island might gradually become a thing of the past. There might also be the absence of a haven of safety, in which ocean tramps and greyhounds could find shelter and repair, and no great coaling station where fleets of all classes could fill their empty bunkers and laugh at the storm. The mighty St. Lawrence might become more dangerous than the Bay of Biscay through severe Atlantic storms. The Gulf Stream might also step a degree or two from its course and shorten the glorious season of summer and pleasures of autumn days.

What might happen, who can say,
If Nova Scotia were taken away,
To beautify the open sea!
But where, O! where would Canada be?

There are no arguments to increase the importance of Halifax harbor to Canada, and there are none to diminish it. There are resorts for shipping in every continent that divide the crown of victory over almost insuperable difficulties, but Providence has crowned that of Halifax, Queen of the Atlantic. It is a great gift of nature to Nova Scotia and the British American provinces. It is a slur upon it to call it a winter port, because it is a port of all seasons. The claims of some other ports in the Dominion to superiority should awaken the citizens of Halifax to a sense of duty in its defence and in establishing the supremacy of nature's gift. It is also the duty of every Nova Scotian to contribute according to his ability to his own province, and he can do this effectually by being determined to make Halifax the great Canadian shipping port of the east. If Nova Scotia has not before been sufficiently united in a determined effort to further the claims of Halifax, the time assuredly is at hand when all Nova Scotians should be combined in the interest of their capital's magnificent harbor. Halifax should be no less jealous of its rights and no less warm in its assertion of them than Montreal or St. John. In Confederation, Chebucto harbor has been made a plaything by Canadian politicians, statesmen and governments; out of Con-

federation it would have been sought after by Canada as though it contained a sea of gold.

Nova Scotia would be all right without Canada, but Canada would be all wrong without Nova Scotia. She became the key to Confederation and the rock on which it was established. The passing in of the Union created no generous sympathies; the hearts of the colonists did not awaken to admiration or kindle to enthusiasm; it inspired no interest nor excited any noble impulses. And why? Because the sovereign rights of the electors of a self-governing colony were trailed in the dust. England either ignorantly or designedly sanctioned what no other portion of the Anglo-Saxon race, free in its institutions, and careful of individual and local liberty, would think of sanctioning. The United States of America would not attempt by act of congress to annex any United States territory as a state of the Union without first receiving a favorable application from the people of the territory, and then the will of the electors expressed by a two-thirds vote praying admittance to the Union. The Imperial Government and Parliament may have been deceived by the Nova Scotia Government, the Nova Scotia delegates, the Canadian and other delegates, and strangely perplexed, in considering the protests of Nova Scotians and the happy alliance of their representa-

tives with the most uncompromising Unionists of the Dominion. If perplexed, they had reasonable hope from the strange things their eyes beheld, that party be it what it may, or by whatever name, or of whatever mixture or composition, would gradually by its stronger influence absorb anti unionism and overshadow provincial patriotism.

It is something to be ashamed of, to know that the place and official loving propensities of representatives to be found in all parties, have been strong enough to injure and even stifle their high principles of action. Constable the painter has said, the mind loses its dignity less in adversity than in prosperity, this opinion seemed reversed by the strange display made by the Anti Unionists on the floors of the House of Commons in eighteen hundred and sixty-eight and even later. After they had yielded up their independence on the altar of Grittism, unlike Sampson they never seem to have awakened to the fact, that the secret of their strength had departed. No innate impulse seems to have lead them to high thoughts and noble aspirations. Did they understand the value and importance of their province to Canada? If they did they were unworthy of the name of Nova Scotians. If they did not they were unworthy of the positions they were called upon to fill.

There are politicians who are not careful as to what they say, so long as they can make capital for themselves or their party. Some of these will tell us that Nova Scotia is making progress equal to any period of her history, but how any honest man with the census returns of a quarter of a century in his hands, and the revenue returns before him, and the value of farm lands in his mind, and the general wealth of the province in proper figures at his command, can dispute that unsatisfactory and doubtful progress has been made, since Nova Scotia was incorporated with the Canadas is beyond all comprehension.

And yet with all the misfortunes that have befallen Nova Scotia since she was stealthily betrayed by unpatriotic and selfish and untrustworthy men and "misguided men," she is as loyal to England and Canada, as any province between the two oceans. And why is this? Because her sons and daughters are of the British race, inspired with British honor, merely glancing at the past and confiding in the future, and aspiring to contribute their part to the advancement of the Union, in all that contributes to a higher and better civilization and to make Canada the most enlightened and progressive nation of the earth.

CHAPTER X.

Population, Proper Representation, &c.

Perhaps the reader will not consider it out of place to glance backward for a moment or two and trace the growth of population in Nova Scotia for three-quarters of a century before the Queen ascended the throne. He will find below a statement in figures gathered from reliable authority.

In the year 1764, Nova Scotia proper contained a population of 13,000

In " " 1838, 146,903
Cape Breton 30,500

Total 177,403

In the ten years previous to the coronation of the Queen the population of the province increased 23,000.

In 1838 the population of Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton, was 177,403, exclusive of the County of Cumberland, and the military in Halifax. And from the time of the birth of Princess Victoria until 1838, the increase in the twenty years, exclusive of Cape Breton, was

about 60,000. Thirty years later, when Her Majesty gave her sanction to the British North America Act, the increase of population, including Cape Breton, averaged about or near 60,000 in each decade, or in other words, an increase of about one hundred per cent. in thirty years, or over thirty per cent. in each decade. At the census of 1871, the population of the province was found to be 387,800. In 1897, the year closing the first thirty years of Confederation, the population of the province was estimated at about 450,000, or an increase of about 90,000 in thirty years, being an increase of about twenty-five per cent. for the period, or an average of about eight per cent. during each decade of Confederation. It will therefore be seen that the increase of population in Nova Scotia during her thirty years of Confederation, has only averaged about one-third the amount it averaged during her thirty years of self-governing colonial life previous to her absorption into the Canadian Union. In brief, the province increased in people from 1838 to 1871, 210,000, and from 1871 to 1897, 90,000. It doubled in the first thirty years, or increased over the last thirty years at the rate of more than two to one, basing the increase on the population of 1867 and that of 1837. If the population of Nova Scotia had increased during her thirty years of Union as it did her thirty years just previous to

Confederation this province would contain at this day 750,000 souls. If the question should be asked, Why this great decline in increase? No other answer could be given but the one: the people have been leaving the province in numbers annually far exceeding any other period of its history, and if all the native born Nova Nova Scotians who have left the province during the past thirty years could, together with their children, be gathered to the localties of their birth from the State of Massachusetts and other states of the American republic the population of the province would undoubtedly be 750,000 persons. It is said there are 10,000 Nova Scotians in the North West and British Columbia. In a paper published in Boston containing an article on the census of Massachusetts for 1894 there was a statement which read, as nearly as can be remembered, as follows: In 1866 there were about 14,000 Canadians in the State of Massachusetts; less than 2,000 of these were from Nova Scotia. In 1894 there were 77,000 natives of the Maritime Provinces in the state, and by far the larger part being Nova Scotians. The above are not given as strictly correct; they are only given from memory, the paper which contained the article having been destroyed in the great Windsor fire, and all efforts to procure a copy have so far proved useless. However, it has been stated time and time again

in reliable newspapers that there are in the State of Massachusetts alone 150,000 provincialists, including their children. If all these statements are anywhere near the truth it is easily to be seen why the population of Nova Scotia numbers so slight an increase since the Union. Has Confederation been a cause of this continued exodus to the United States? It undoubtedly has been a cause. Persons in every locality of the province were so disgusted with the mode in which Confederation was brought about that during the first decade afterwards they left the province in droves like sheep. For instance, in 1874, when there was plenty work in Hants county for young mechanics and others, a person could scarcely visit a locality without finding young, able-bodied men packing their trunks to start for the United States. If any of these were asked why they went when there was sufficient employment all about them, nine out of every ten would reply: We are going to a country where we will not be sold for the price of a sheep skin, or some similar remark would be given in answer. This same feeling existed more or less in every county of Nova Scotia, and was very strong all along through the first ten years after the Union. These young, and middle-aged men also, annually left by thousands. This gave an immense impetus to emigration from the province to the "land of the free." And

ever since that time, hundreds and thousands have yearly been following their friends and relatives into "Uncle Sam's dominions." This is one of the reasons, and one of the principal reasons why so many Nova Scotians are now making their homes in the State of Massachusetts and other states of the union, and why the population of the province shows such a discouraging increase since Confederation.

The question may properly be asked: why then is it that New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island show also so slight an increase in population since Confederation? In New Brunswick the strong Anti-Confederate feeling which was manifested there turned as a whirlwind to the opposite side, the great body of the people became Unionist filled with great expectations for the future of the province. The great pledges and promises made on the hustings and elsewhere did not appear to be fulfilled. The showers of blessings that were soon to appear and become continuous delayed their approach. The enthusiasm of the people subsided as quickly as it had risen, and the first few years after the Union showed a large exodus to the United States. After this the great shipping interest began to fail, and mechanics, and farmers, and laborers followed their relatives and friends to the land of the stars and stripes. And the great times that were about to dawn upon the province

with the incoming of the Union have not appeared, consequently there are no inducements to recall these emigrants home. The exodus from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had an effect upon the inhabitants of Prince Edward Island, and they began to march in large squads to the American states. Politicians and others looked about themselves to check emigration, and the only thing they could hit upon was Union with the other provinces. They were cautious. They demanded big things from the Dominion, feeling they were running considerable risk, as there was a good deal of dissatisfaction in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at the time. The government of Canada granted their demands, well knowing if they did not then succeed in getting the little island to join the Union it would be doubtful if it ever offered itself for admittance again. Confederation did not check the exodus, but has seemed to give it more impetus. If Nova Scotia had no coal mines her showing in the last census would have been on a par with that of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

The first thirty years previous to Confederation the population of New Brunswick increased considerably over one hundred per cent.; it ran up from 119,557 in 1835, to 285,594 in 1870. Whatever might have been the fate or fortune of the Maritime Provinces for the past thirty

years had they remained separate from Canada, there is one thing certain, they could have been in no worse condition than they have been under Confederation with Canada. The Island of Prince Edward during the thirty years previous to its entering the Union increased its population one hundred per cent., from 47,034 to 94,000.

In Prince Edward Island the population increased in twenty years, from 1871 to 1891, but 15,000, or 16 per cent.

In New Brunswick the population increased in twenty years, from 1871 to 1891, 35,750, or slightly over 12 per cent.

In Nova Scotia the population increased in twenty years, from 1871 to 1891, 62,500, or nearly 16 per cent.

In Prince Edward Island, therefore, the increase was at the rate of 24 per cent. for thirty years. In New Brunswick the increase was at the rate of 18 per cent. for thirty years, and in Nova Scotia the increase was at the rate of 24 per cent. for thirty years. Showing a decrease in the rate for Prince Edward Island compared with thirty years previous to Confederation of 74 per cent. In New Brunswick a comparison for the same period shows a decrease of over 80 per cent.; and in Nova Scotia for the same period a decrease of about 76 per cent.

Quebec increased in the twenty years from 1871 to 1891 in its population 297,000, or about 25 per cent.

Ontario increased in its population for the same period 493,500, or over 30 per cent.

The last ten years of Confederation, from 1881 to 1891, makes a sorry showing in increases of the population of the Maritime Provinces. In Nova Scotia the increase was 9,800, or about $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The increase was from 440,572 to 450,396. In Prince Edward Island the showing is even worse, the increase being about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The increase was from 108,891 to 109,078. In New Brunswick it scarcely reaches a percentage at all, the increase being only thirty persons, the figures standing 321,233 in 1881 and 321,263 in 1891. In Ontario the figures for the same time show about 11 per cent. of an increase. And in Quebec they show for the same period nearly 10 per cent. The population of Quebec increased in the last ten years, from 1881 to 1891, from 1,359,927 to 1,488,535. And in Ontario for the same time the population increased from 1,926,922 to 2,114,321. Manitoba in the same time ran up from 62,260 to 152,506; and the city of Winnipeg from 7,985 to 25,639. And British Columbia increased in population as follows for the same period: In 1881 its population numbered 49,459; in 1891 the population was 98,173. The organized North West Territories from 1881 to 1891 increased in inhabitants from 25,515 to 66,799. The

unorganized Territories in the same time from 30,931 to 32,168.

The population of the whole Dominion increased in number from 1881 to 1891, from 4,324,810 to 4,833,239, or an increased of 508,429. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island together contributed to this increase but 10,041.

Statistics are not acceptable or pleasant reading to many persons, but they are often very instructive. And it is a good thing for everybody to pull themselves up short sometimes and take a close survey of their native place and the great country to which they belong, and search for themselves and see whether their country is going upwards or downwards. It is good to have such periods now and again, and no season is so fitting as that when the country is free from the turmoil and excitement of political contests. Such seasons will help us all to search out the most earnest-minded, clear-headed and deep-thinking men of the country and learn their views of the country's affairs and of political parties and their doings. Most of us need more sound information on public questions than we usually have to allow us to give a proper voice at the polls. And if we allow ourselves to be guided alone by the harangues of party politicians or by the party press, without seeking our information from more reliable sources, we will

come far short of the duty we owe to our country and ourselves when we are called upon to speak our minds at the polls. If we never question anything, if we simply accept it, we will never learn to think or act for ourselves. Our thinking will be the thoughts, true or false, of others, and our work will be for the benefit of individuals and parties, much more than for our country or for ourselves. From time to time as we are trying to properly inform ourselves, we will be brought face to face with some startling questions, which can only be mastered by patient and persevering application. Have not many of us, at one time or another, attended political meetings, held because of an approaching political contest, and while being quite satisfied with the remarks of our party speakers, have left those meetings feeling that something else was wanting? And was not this something on due reflection found out to be that these speakers dare not let themselves free to state in all its magnitude and beauty the whole truth? Had they done so, they knew they would have to free themselves from party lines and what are, called party principles and forfeit their positions, because they were depending solely upon satisfying party clamour in anticipation of success and position.

When some of the speakers had just returned from parliament to seek the continued support

of their constituents, how we have seen them shuffle and strain to shelter themselves and their inconsistencies behind their words, oftentimes so much at variance with their former attested professions, and yet they boldly asserted that their views were unaltered, and they proclaimed the principles of their party, as they did four or five years previously. And too frequently their talk was received with shouts of praise by their former and present supporters. It is only when you bring such men, such representatives of the people, up face to face with a plain question, requiring of them a plain yes or no for answer, that you can induce them to explain what they really have done or what they really believe. That is if they have done anything, or really believe anything. It not unfrequently happens that some of these men are incapable of doing anything or believing anything, or seeing anything, except what they are advised to do, to believe, and to see by their leaders, their superiors, their whippers. They work as perfectly as machines standing in rows on the floor of a great manufacturing establishment. If any friction occurs they are overhauled, and generally take their medicine in a lump in a caucus dispensary; if this method does not prove satisfactory in every instance the dose is quietly washed down with a sugar-coated promise or pledge.

There are men who honestly believe that any tampering with the platform of their party, which has stood firm for many years, would bring disaster to the country. Such men stand as obstacles in the way of reform, especially when a new and possibly more rational order of things would be likely to do good to any or every section of the country.

When we see the very best, purest and most carefully informed men of both political parties disagree with the ideas and most carefully cherished plans of their leaders and others we feel assured that in the end these men will do more good for their country than the combinations of those men who are moved to act by selfish and partizan motives alone.

It is a thousand pities for Nova Scotia that its legislature had not been composed of a majority of such men on the eve of Confederation, and in the first parliament of the Dominion this province had not been represented by a large majority of such men also. What are party politics for in an enlightened country and a professed Christian country such as Canada? Certainly not to throw out the bait of deception, of corruption, and every other scheme which circumstances make it expedient to toss broadcast over the whole country merely to gain or hold the reins of power and satisfy a few persons with official position and official recogni-

tion and seats in parliament, be these few taken from high or inferior social position, or accepted for their intelligence or party influence. Were not governments, and parties, and rulers ordained for mankind to raise step by step poor human nature to higher, brighter and happier stations, to make people law-abiding and moral, to set them to active and independent thought, to elevate their being and fill their lives with pure desires and lofty aspirations ?

It is often said there is no perfection in politics. It is likely there never will be perfection in any constituted or corporate body in this world, but it is possible for all in every line of life's work to press straightly, steadily and patiently on toward perfection, through the broad and open road of honor, equity and justice, without continually stepping aside into crooked paths and shadowy and meandering by-ways. Some people exclaim: Everything in its day. But it would be better to exclaim, everything for its day. The day should not be allowed to hold too tightly in its grasp everything as it is, in the interest of a favored few, but should continuously be allowed to let in fresh light to stimulate the growth of the multitude and purify the political atmosphere. The fulfilment of Lord Rosebery's prediction, or prophecy, as stated in another chapter, may be at hand, though it may take another Wesley or Booth or another Lincoln

or Peel to bring it in in all its fulness. Slowly at first such beneficial reforms gain ground, but irresistibly they continue expanding in volume, while justice everywhere is becoming the quality of the weak and attribute of the powerful.

A fuller knowledge and a warmer endorsement of the principles best calculated to work out the social and political salvation of every class of the people will flow in as a river, and party prejudice and wickedness will as regularly disappear. Then governments will not, as now, be largely by the party and for the party, but from the uncorrupted, intelligent and independent people, and by them and for them. Then government or party influence, private power, and corrupt jobbery and corporate despotism will weaken and wither and disappear, and majorities and minorities be satisfied alike, and the humblest toilers over the face of the country and the poorest occupants of the smallest cottage homes will feel their power as well as that of others acknowledged in the government and legislation of their country. When talent and worth will be considered above and beyond any party lines or considerations ; when hundreds and thousands of neglected and forgotten and unnoticed persons who earn their daily toil with horny hands and by the sweat of their brows will not only be noticed and acknowledged as brethren on the eve of an approaching

political contest, but will be continuously noticed and acknowledged by an equality born of common sense and brotherly love. There are party organizers and workers, and members and ex-members of parliament, in Canada to-day who must look upon their partisan work with an overwhelming sense of shame ; men who have bribed, bought, corrupted and debauched, not only one person here and there, but whole constituencies, and then smiled and applauded their work, because by such means they had secured their ends by an inglorious triumph ; men who by party pledges, by personal promises and by private subscription sit in parliament and exclaim they were honored with the free and independent voice of the constituents ; men who shout that the pure principles of their party and the splendid organization of their electoral district carried them to victory ; men whose pockets instead of their heads and principles were their strength. And the desire for re-election of some of these men causes them to appear again and again among their supporters at regular intervals and grind out the sayings of their superiors, with scarcely an intelligent idea of their own, as an organ-grinder turns out a certain number of tunes to the delight of the small boys assembled at the street corners. And many of these men would never have stood, or rather sat, in parliament if they had not had plenty of money

to back their pretensions and a clique or two in the electoral district whose members were very ambitious to further their own ends. The country has pure, good and able men in its legislative halls, men fitted by nature for their positions, but they have been and still are a small minority.

It is impossible for us to have everything as we would like to have it in this world, but it is possible for us to have everything better than we now have. It is our own fault, the electors' fault, that as a rule they are not better represented in the parliaments of their country than they are. And it is a pity for many of the towns and cities of Canada that more suitable men were not chosen to guide their affairs in their local councils. There are always to be found numbers of ambitious and ill-suited individuals on the hop looking for these positions, who ought to be lassoed in their first attempt, individuals who stretch themselves beyond their measure and boast of things without their measure.

There is another class of individuals always about, some more intelligent than those just mentioned, often belonging to one or another of what are called the professions, always alive to their own interests, designing and deceitful to a degree, restless and ambitious. They are apparently full of deep earnestness, spouting

forth a mass of verbiage to mystify their hearers and cover up their own short-comings and those of their party. They know their ends are better served by an unceasing flow of rhetoric than by plain speech. They do not call a spade a spade but an instrument, well proportioned, manufactured by the sturdy hands of a professional smith and containing all the elements of stability for the work which it is intended to perform when manipulated by the practical hands of an expert in trench-making. Occasionally we find one or more of this class who do not lack poetic instinct, for now and again they seem to mount without themselves, and their language is beautiful as a bed of roses, but alas, fades as soon. They have little use for monosyllables which are largely the best things for conveying a mighty message to the minds and hearts of mankind and impart new life and vigor to all who listen. Their speech when completed, as the Right Hon. John Bright would say, was like a Scotch terrier, so covered from end to end with hair that one could scarcely tell his head from his tail.

Should we not, then, exercise more care and judgment in the election of the men into whose hands we place so grave a trust? If we do this we shall soon re-establish what is almost overthrown: a government by the people and for the people. Let this be done and the mighty electorate of this country will soon show that

patriotism and manhood are not dead, and they are able to crush every clique and conspiracy in the political arena between the two oceans. Neither in the Provincial Legislatures nor in the Dominion Parliament is it safe to trust the affairs of the province or the country to men whom neither promises could bind nor principles of honor could secure, men who would abandon fifty principles for the sake of power, and forget fifty promises when they were no longer necessary to their ends.

In this day, when so many promises are made and so many unfulfilled, it may be encouraging to some disappointed office-seeker to read the following good story, especially if he makes up his mind to act as determinedly in his own interest as the tide-waiter did. The most successful method is that adopted by the tide-waiter. Those politicians who are lavish with promises at times of election and who forget all about them soon after should cut this story out and hang it up where it will daily meet their gaze :

During the premiership of the Duke of Portland a dissolution of parliament and a general election took place. His grace was zealous in his own cause, and was assisting one of his friends in canvassing a certain borough in the South-West of England. As usual on similar occasions, his grace was "hail fellow well met" with every

voter who was unpledged, and among others with one who was so charmed with his grace's frankness and cordiality that he whispered a secret into the Duke's ear, to the effect that the tide-waiter was so old and feeble as scarcely to be up to the duties of the office, and that he, the voter, thought it would be a snug berth for himself, and hoped that, as his grace had condescended to solicit him for his poor vote, he would obtain the place for him. This promise was readily given, but it was better remembered by the receiver than by the giver, as promises generally are.

It is said they go long bare foot who wait for dead men's shoes; but the tide waiter died at last. Awry posted the office seeker to London, to wait on the Duke of Portland, and demand the performance of the promise. It happened to be the winter season and in the middle of a deep snow; it also happened that the King of Spain was sick and dying, and his decease was expected to have considerable influence in European politics. On the night when the west country place hunter arrived, the Duke was in expectation of dispatches from Madrid, and to his gentleman-in-waiting, said, that, if any one called to see him, to admit him, even, if he, the Duke, were going to bed or asleep. The Duke's gentleman of course gave orders to his own gentleman's gentleman, who in turn gave instructions to the porter. Accordingly about

midnight a man was announced, who stated that he had an important communication to deliver his grace. The valet at once admitted him, and led him quietly up to the Duke's chamber, pushed open the door and desired him to enter. In another minute the elector was at the Duke's bedside. His grace, half asleep and half awake, and believing the stranger to be the bearer of tidings from Madrid inquired, "What news?" "Please your grace, said the man, I come to tell you that he is dead, and I come to get his place, which your grace promised me." "Whose place?" "Why the tide-waiter's," replied the man, in perfect amazement, for he thought he was on such friendly terms with the Duke, that the latter would never forget him or his request. It is said that after heartily abusing the man for his unseasonable intrusion, the Duke's fancy was so agreeably tickled with the ludicrous incident, that he really did let him step into the dead tide-waiters shoes by giving him the position.

"The Coming in of Tide-Waiters," would be an appropriate reminder, if hung up in every Conservative and Grit committee room in Canada.

The man who enters public life in order to make money out of his position, and who forgets his promises, and who enters into speculation at his country's cost, or whose chief aim is official position, will never make an honest or trustworthy servant of the people.

There may have been a time when good society thought nothing more natural than rascality and immorality in high places, but that time has passed out.

An independent and pure press is a strong check to impure government. Such a press is beginning to take a strong hold upon the electors of Canada. Party bigotry, political and individual selfishness and party at any price must eventually bow before such an honest and enlightened instructor.

Party in this as well as other countries has long ruled the master of some of the ablest as well as some of the weakest men.

It is said a bishop once published a treatise upon Grace, or the office and operation of the Holy Spirit, in the preface to which he said, "I have a master above, and I have one below."

There are men, able men and ordinary men in the councils of state, in Parliaments, and in various official positions, whose master above, below and within is party, and who are chained prisoners of party and driven by it at will.

CHAPTER XI.

Prince Edward Island's entrance into the Union, &c.

Whatever was done in any of the British North America Provinces, regarding confederation, or any attempts to bring the question into prominence, previous to the appointment of the maritime provinces delegates to meet at Charlottetown in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-four, does not come within the scope of this work. Those things belong to the history of the provinces down to the final and successful attempts to bring in confederation.

In this brief chapter, a few lines will show the state of popular feeling in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Whether the convention at Charlottetown, was secretly arranged by leading statesmen of the Canadas and a few statesmen in the maritime provinces, as an advanced post from which to work the greater scheme of union, is not known and perhaps never will be. Many persons now believe there was such an understanding. And a close observer of the movements of the actors, cannot but feel that many things were played behind the screen, that were never performed before the public. The movements in the upper provinces

and those in the maritime provinces were almost simultaneous and it can hardly be thought these like movements took place by mere chance. The thing was done so boldly and suddenly that the electors of the maritime provinces seemed almost stupefied. They never expected to see their delegates at Charlottetown captured as willing prisoners, and carried off to Quebec without a protest.

At this time Hon. George Brown, leader of the Canadian grits, proposed to Hon. John A. Macdonald, leader of the conservative party, to form a coalition government for the purpose of effecting, if possible, a confederation of all the provinces. The proposed meeting at Charlottetown, not having yet taken place, the Governor General was requested to ascertain whether the conference would be willing to receive a deputation from Canada, and a satisfactory reply being received, Messrs. Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, Galt, McGee, Langevin, Macdougall and Campbell were appointed delegates to attend the meeting at Charlottetown.

The delegates at the Charlottetown convention from the maritime provinces, after hearing the delegates from Canada and conferring with them for a short time, only two days adjourned until the tenth of October to assemble at Quebec. In the presence of the Canadian delegates, maritime union disappeared as quickly as the setting sun,

and the delegates were left to work out their dark scheme. The Canadian delegates were, no doubt, very generous and very gentlemanly in their promises, and knew how to work the delegates, as well as they had often before worked voters in parliaments and constituencies. In less than a month they sent the Canadian government steamer "Victoria" to Pictou, where on the fifth of October she took on board the Governor of Nova Scotia, his wife, and the Nova Scotia delegates, then the "Victoria" called at Charlottetown and took on board the Prince Edward Island delegates, then at Shediac and took on board the New Brunswick delegates. The "Victoria" with her passengers arrived at Quebec in the evening on the ninth, and the following morning the convention opened. The whole proceeding of the voyage seems much like a party carriage going the rounds on an election day and carrying voters to the polls. And those who ride on party carriages on such occasions, usually have their rewards satisfactorily arranged. But the scheme of confederation was not, however, to be carried out as speedily as the Canadians anticipated, nor as the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia delegates anticipated. Opposition to the scheme soon grew to a storm in New Brunswick, which swept Tilley and his supporters from office, at the general election which took place in March, eighteen

hundred and sixty-five, and not a single one of the delegates which had a few months previously sailed on the government steamer "Victoria" to Quebec and attended the convention was returned, and a very strong anti-confederal government was formed.

Opposition to the action of the delegates and to confederation, was even stronger in Nova Scotia than in New Brunswick. In New Brunswick, however, the storm seemed to have soon spent its fury, the tide of popular favour seemed to have turned toward confederation, Mr. Tilley came again into power, with the people at his back. The Prince Edward Island delegates on their return from Quebec found the people of the Island decidedly opposed to confederation, and they remained opposed to the scheme until January eighteen hundred and seventy-three, nearly six years after confederation was adopted. At this time, an honorable member introduced a minute in council to the effect that if the Dominion Government would offer liberal terms, the government of Prince Edward Island would recommend a dissolution of the House, so that the people may have an opportunity of saying at the polls, whether they prefer to enter the Dominion or not. The Privy Council of Canada suggested to Prince Edward Island to send a deputation to Ottawa. The Island government did as requested, but the

delegates were instructed to do nothing more than learn what terms could be obtained if the people of the Island consented to go into confederation. Messrs. J. C. Pope, T. H. Haviland and Geo. W. Howland were appointed a committee, and proceeded to Ottawa, where they had an interview with the governor general—Lord Dufferin. A committee of the Privy Council, consisting of Messrs. J. A. Macdonald S. L. Tilley, Charles Tupper and Hector Langevin afterward met the Prince Edward Island delegates, and a few days later, May the fifteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy-three, an agreement was reached satisfactory to the delegates.

The terms were substantially as follows:—

On condition of Prince Edward Island giving up her revenues, the Dominion agreed to assume a debt equal to fifty dollars a head on the population of the Island, which was ninety-four thousand and twenty-one, thus making the debt the Island was authorized to incur, four million, seven hundred and one thousand and fifty dollars. As the Island had only a very small debt, it was to receive interest at the rate of five per cent on the difference between the amount of its debt and the amount authorized until the debt amounted to four million seven hundred and one thousand and fifty dollars. The Dominion government also agreed to pay thirty thousand dollars for the support of the government and

legislature of the province and eighty cents per head of the population.

A general election was held on the Island, a month before the delegates were sent to Ottawa, and the people were favourable toward union provided they could secure their own terms. Those terms they did secure. And their province was admitted a member of the Canadian Union on July the first, eighteen hundred and seventy-three, over eight years after the people of the province, had positively refused to accept the terms offered them at the Quebec convention. Prince Edward Island secured all she asked by yielding up to Canada her revenue, which was not very great at the time.

What Sir Charles Tupper must have thought when acceding to the demands of Prince Edward Island, when she proposed to enter the union is probably not known. If he cared to contrast the terms he made for his own province, when he helped to drag her into confederation, with those he was willing to give Prince Edward Island to gain her consent to enter it, he must have felt that he had acted unfaithfully toward Nova Scotia.

If the Nova Scotia delegates and legislature had acted in as good faith toward the Nova Scotia people as the delegates and legislature of Prince Edward Island acted toward the people of that province, this province could have entered the union

(that is if the union could have been accomplished without Nova Scotia), in eighteen hundred and seventy-three on terms equally as good as those given to Prince Edward Island. And one of the terms would have been fifty dollars a head on her population according to the census of eighteen hundred and seventy-one, which would in this one particular have given Nova Scotia eight million more dollars than she received in eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, or about double what she was allowed on debt account. Or if Nova Scotia had been allowed to remain out of the union, until the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, she might have celebrated Queen Victoria's splendid reign by entering the Canadian union upon terms in every way satisfactory to her inhabitants.

The island gem of the St. Lawrence has produced no sons to sell her liberty and has elected no legislature that has violated her constitution. She is a free province of Canada by the sacred will of her inhabitants and not by a forcible Act of England's parliament.

She rejoices in the cloudless light of liberty, and has no unworthy act of her government or legislature to transmit to posterity.

CHAPTER XII.

The Countess and the Canadas.

A family of respectability from the province of Quebec, reduced in wealth, but not in social position, had resided for some time in the province of Nova Scotia. The youngest and fairest of the family whose name was Pauline, had become acquainted with a sailor lad on one of the ships then at rest in the harbor of Halifax.

In the early fifties the ship sailed away, and carried the gallant seaman to Portsmouth, G. B., from which port, she was speedily ordered to the Mediterranean.

Pauline's heart swelled within her, and could find no relief, but by unpacking itself in tender words addressed in the neatest writing to the absent sailor. The letter was signed simply and touchingly, Your Pauline.

She had been told, the ship had been ordered to the Mediterranean and mailed the letter to the port where the ship was to call, awaiting further orders. She addressed the letter accordingly, and anxiously waited for a reply, and many a wakeful hour did the fair writer spend in recalling what she had written, confident that he who was to receive these avowals would esteem them beyond all that was ever written by sage or

poet. Two months passed by and no reply had been received by the anxious lover. Three weeks latter, a postman called at a residence where Pauline was visiting, and asked for Mrs. Arthur —, the name of the one Pauline loved. She was handed a letter addressed Mrs. Arthur —. There was a moment of terrible suspense. She tore open the envelope and discovered her letter. She soon found that the letter was not sufficiently stamped to carry it beyond England, and it had been returned by the post office authorities. The post office clerk had evidently concluded that "Your Pauline," was the wedded wife of Arthur, to whom the letter was addressed.

Arthur had appeared in the most fashionable circles of Quebec and Halifax. He was good looking and about twenty-four years of age, with accomplished manners, brilliant in conversation, and the bearer of a proud name. He always talked plainly, and was possessed of a full degree of common sense, he had no weak vanities, neither had he a pine-apple shaped head, nor the nose of a rabbit and gait of a peacock. He was unlike some of our city and small town youth, who are society leaders. He talked with no unnatural accent, neither would he despise his poor relations, if he had any. He was a true young fellow, cast in nature's best mould, thorough and sound and not a half-cracked article, tossed upon the world and

society for what purpose no scientist or philosopher has yet discovered.

Pauline really loved him and was also somewhat dazzled by his embroidery, his handsome face and specious tongue. She was above the medium height, full and round in figure, without in the least pertaining to grossness, and erect in her bearing and graceful as an elm. She had a passion for dogs, and loved them as well as she did her school mates, perhaps better. She had a beautiful voice, soft, rich and sympathetic, and her complexion, one of a combination of pink and olive. In manner she was dignified and self possessed. Her hair was dark brown and abundant, parted in the middle and lay in soft rings on her crescent shaped brow. Her hands were perfect in shape and soft as kid. When she went for a walk, she was usually accompanied by her scotch terrier, which she called "Jolly Tar." Her mother was a French lady, her father was of Scotch descent. At one time he was in good financial circumstances, he had died when Pauline was a mere child. Her mother had a small income in her own right. Too much society and too little prudence on the part of her mother, who was rather haughty, perhaps also vain, caused the pounds to dwindle away. Young Arthur first met Pauline in Quebec, where her mother kept a genteel boarding house. Pauline was then in

her eighteenth year. Hon. G. E. Cartier and Hon. Joseph Howe, it is said, were well acquainted with the family, and when Pauline had received the returned letter, she went to Mr. Howe seeking advice about stamping a letter to a Mediterranean port. Her next letter reached its destination, but in the meantime she had received a letter from Arthur, who as it afterwards appears had fallen deeply in love with her on sight. Time passed on, the young sailor took ill in the East, and Pauline became dearer to him than ever. He was compelled soon to return to England. But before leaving the seat of war, he wrote to Pauline and gave her directions to cross the Atlantic and meet him in England on his return. She sailed from Canada late in the fall and not long after arrived safely in her lover's country. Arthur had arrived home a few days earlier.

His mother was lady A——, a widow residing at the time with her aunt the Countess of L——. He made known to his mother the fact that a young colonial girl was crossing the ocean, and it was his intention to wed her. The news very much surprised his mother, as she and the Countess were desirous of arranging a match for him at home. In fact they had sighted a young lady they considered most suitable for Arthur, if all could be mutually arranged. Lady A—— was most anxious to

learn from her son who the lucky bride should be. He informed his mother, that his intended was a young colonial lady coming from one of the Canada's. His mother kept silent about the matter for a day or two, then she informed the Countess of Arthur's intention. This revelation brought matters to a crisis, as the Countess addressed herself to the subject in hand. She proposed an immediate interview with Arthur. He agreed and met the Countess at the hour appointed. After the usual greetings, the Countess said to him: "My dear Arthur, I am informed that you are about to marry a young girl from one of our colonies, belonging to one of the Canadas, is it really true your intentions are such?" "It is settled," replied her relative. "Arthur" she said gravely, "is it possible you would place your devoted mother and myself in danger of becoming related to a family of convicts?" "I do not quite understand you my dear aunt, the girl I love and whom I intend to marry belongs to one of the Canada's," replied Arthur. The Countess threw up her hands in utter astonishment, and almost reeled from her seat, as she said, "Oh Arthur, dear Arthur, you sadden me, I despair, as those words 'one of the Canadas' sound in my ears, not even convicts, but indians, have been your associates in America. I heard of their rebellion against British rule in the year eighteen hundred and

thirty-eight, they were said to be the most treacherous and blood thirsty tribe of Indians in America, Oh those Canadas! those Canadas! those Canadas! would you injure our proud name by marrying a squaw, trained up in blankets and moccasins, an expert with the arrow and scalping knife?" asked the Countess. Then clasping her hands over her agitated breast she seemed to swoon, as she muttered "one of the Canadas, those evil wretches, our escutcheons to be stained and our noble name to be classified with those terrible wretches 'Black Hawk' and 'King Philip.'" She lay in a swoon as Arthur hastened to summon in his mother. The poor old Countess continued quite ill for some days, while her nights were haunted by visions of Red men. After the Countess had recovered, she told Arthur's mother, that if Arthur married into the Canada tribe, it was but proper to exclude them from society and order them to leave England at once. The mother though she loved her son most tenderly, was proud of her station in life. She felt that nothing else could be done, but to accept the advice of the Countess, and order her son to leave the country. She told Arthur the following morning, that she almost felt he had ceased to respect and love her, and if he would not promise to forsake his darling of the forest, he must leave her home and the country at

once. If you marry that girl you have ceased to love me, and you forfeit the respect of my kind aunt, the Countess." Arthur advanced a step, took his mother's hand, and said: "My mother dear, you and the Countess will not be convinced, that the young lady to whom I am pledged, is no other than a colonial girl born in one of the Canadas," she interrupted Arthur and said; "now, no more about one of the Canadas, the Countess has given me their history you will oblige by leaving my presence, at least till you repent of your folly." "Mother" continued Arthur, "you will not allow me to explain, you give away to your fears, and cannot patiently listen to my explanation, I go," and immediately left the room.

One week later he met Pauline in Liverpool and took her to a friend's in the north of England. She remained about six weeks in one of those or rather near one of those colliery villages where all about seems coal dust and gloom, but where, in the beautiful evening the visitor may watch scores of men trudging along towards their homes at the end of their day of weary and begrimed toil. Pauline during her short stay in the locality was much interested in watching the lives of those people. Arthur paid several visits to the place during his lover's residence there. His last visit brought about the wedding. He and Pauline were

privately married and left at once for Paris. At the marriage the bride was attended by a daughter of a wealthy citizen of the district, and the bridegroom by a friend. The bride was presented with a costly and rich bracelet by the father of the bridesmaid who was a pillar in a Wesleyan church. The bracelet bore the motto "God careth for thee," in diamonds. Arriving in Paris, they selected rooms in a comfortable hotel in a pleasant part of the city. They met there several Canadians, with whom they became intimately acquainted.

A few months after they had lived in Paris they accidentally met the Duchess of S——. It was at the "Jardin d'Hiver" where they met. After witnessing the fairy-like scenes and the performances of the mad-brained dancers, the duchess invited the bride and groom to spend a few days in her company. It has been said, that when once London society crosses the channel, and is dragged by the fiery coursers along the iron road to Paris, it feels emancipated from its thraldom, the coroneted head is as light as that encased in a wide-awake. Dukes and Duchesses become as merry and light-hearted as shop boys and girls, and may be seen wending their way through the frolicksome people at places of public resort, and wondering why they could not do these things in England. One may see distinguished personages dining most any

day at the "Trois Freres" or at the "Café-de-Paris." But as society is constituted in England such relaxation is uncommon.

The Duchess of S——, fell almost in love with Pauline and an arrangement was made with Arthur, whereby the Duchess of S—— would on her return to England, undertake to bring about a reconciliation of Arthur and his mother. Soon the duchess intended returning home, but before doing so she together with Arthur and Pauline visited the Paris exhibition. Their visit happened on a day, when the Queen of England, who was visiting Napoleon the third, also visited the exhibition. A considerable number of ladies were present, by special favor; the ladies were compelled to sit alone in a privileged spot. The Imperial and Royal cortages, it had been arranged were to pass this spot. Wives were isolated from husbands, brothers from sisters and lovers from lovers. By this means an elderly English lady of noble and aristocratic bearing, found herself side by side with a charming young French lady, for whom the Duchess of S—— had found a seat. The Duchess of S—— seated herself a few yards distant. The elderly English lady soon entered into conversation with her neighbour, and learnt from the talk of her fair companion, that she had not long been married, and that her husband was somewhere in the crowd, and

that the Duchess of S—— had invited her to accept the seat she occupied.

The English lady spoke to Pauline of the inauguration of the great exhibitions. She said, "an institution like this for the advancement of art, peace and civilization is a crowning affair of the nation. There are articles here from many parts, even from the French in America, who to their honor be it said, have united with our English Colonists in that far away lan'l to suppress and drive back those murderous Canadas, more terrible than the Mohawks or any other indian tribe on that great continent. Britain should send out a force to annihilate those vilians." "I have reason to hate them with a treble hatred." Pauline replied; "the indian tribes of Canada are now not dangerous, but have you ever lost any relatives in the wars with the Indians?" "No, my dear, but I have suffered untold agonies by those wretched Canadas." Pauline turned the conversation with a smile, as she saw her friend was becoming agitated. Pauline's face lit up as she replied; "How true it is that nations and people are improving in art, morality, education and science and benevolence, people are mixing more and more like the many waters, the British colonies are important and growing children around our Mother land." At this moment the cottage passed and Pauline's voice ceased.

A perfect tide of feathers, ribands, lace, flowers and silks, kids and gold embroidery filled up the track of their majesties. Pauline was almost dazzled with the scene and smothered in finery. The elderly English lady seeing that she was not accustomed to such assemblies, took her by the hand as they followed in the train, so that it would be impossible for them to become separated in the sea of people. At length they took each others arm as they were jostled among the wives and daughters of high state functionaries who formed the escort of the English Queen, and his Majesty's Imperial host. Hitherto neither of the two ladies knew the name or rank of the other, in this way they passed more than two hours together protecting one another from the pressure of the crowd, while conversing quite intimately upon various little affairs arising out of the circumstance of the parade.

When they had again met the Duchess of S——, the English lady whispered to the Duchess, "what a charming young woman I have found." "I wonder who she is?" "I shall certainly not leave her until I have inquired her name." The Duchess of S—— replied in an equally subdued tone: "I also admire her very much and would like to invite her home with me." The promenade was at last brought to a close, and the Queen and

Emperor left the exhibition. A great crowd collected again at their departure. At this moment Pauline exclaimed, "however shall I find Arthur in such a multitude ?" "Is your brother's or your husband's name Arthur," inquired the English lady ? "Oui ma chére madam," said the young woman. "Ah ! here he comes, what a lucky chance to meet him," exclaimed Pauline. Arthur quickly saw his wife and stepping toward her, said, "what has happened my dear to place you in the company of Countess L——?" The English lady for a moment stood trembling and abashed, and Arthur taking her hand in his said, "my dear Countess L——," in a tone of complete confidence, as he led Pauline with the other hand toward the Countess ; "this is one of the Canadas, Pauline is my wife." The Countess answered nothing in reply. She was agitated and ordered the carriage. When the carriage had arrived, she took the hand of Pauline tightly in her own, and planting a kiss upon her cheek, she said, "step my dear into the carriage," then turning to Arthur she said in trembling tones, yet slowly, "let us hasten to England, to your dear mother, relieve her of her unnecessary anxiety, and that I may receive her congratulations on my journey to France and visit at Paris."

They left the following morning for their English home, the Duchess of S——— accompanying the party.

The Duchess of S—— managed the whole affair with great tact. She had told Arthur she would do her best to heal the breach. She admirably succeeded at the first opportunity. The Duchess of S—— belonged to an illustrious British family containing a long line of noble names, and she, herself was a woman of refined common sense, and noble qualities of heart. Arthur's relative, the Countess of L—— belonged also to an old aristocratic family, but her ancestors had not been renowned by any splendid mental or martial achievements. Lady A——, Arthur's mother, belonged to a class suddenly raised by wealth and title to prominence and high social distinction.

There is no finer class of people in Britain, and less pretentious than that which composes, the well informed, common sense portion of the British aristocracy. They are nobility itself. But weak, vain, narrow visioned persons are found in all classes of society, and among the ancient nobility of England, such a class naturally exists. They exist as well among that class, which is continually tumbling into social prominence, through wealth, political influence and party power. Addison has remarked in one of his "essays on manners," "that there is more to do about precedence in a company of justices' wives than in a company of Duchesses." In Great Britain to-day, there is no portion of the

people less aristocratic, than the well informed and intelligent aristocracy.

After Arthur and his wife were comfortably settled in England, and the imaginary war whoop and scalping knife, had ceased to be bars to a family re-union, they toured in pleasure for some time through what are called the provincial towns of the country. They were welcomed and received by the best society, and only once was Pauline called upon to resent an insult because of her colonial birth. She met at a railway station the daughter of an iron monger, who had gained great wealth and prominence and social position through successful business operations. This young woman she had met at a ball an evening or two earlier. Pauline became the chief attraction at the function, which created little jealousies among the fair ones. The iron monger's daughter leaning upon the arm of her partner, with a haughty toss of the head, as they walked through one of the corridors leading from the ball room, said loudly enough for Pauline to hear her; "she is only a poor girl from Canada, why is so much fuss made over her presence here, I am sure she is no beauty, it is a wonder Arthur ever married her." At the station Miss Ironmonger put out her hand to bid Pauline a farewell on her departure in company with her husband and the Countess L—— for Ireland. Pauline fixed her dark brown eyes

upon her detractor, who seemed to tremble and sway, as though facing a whirlwind or tempest, while Pauline looked a young Juno about to cast the bolts of Jupiter upon her, said, "I was about to treat you unkindly," then she paused, and in a gentle, confident, masterful and womanly manner continued, "I thank you; but always remember that I am a Canadian and proud of the name, and the county to which you belong will some day be as proud of Canada as I am."

The party toured through Ireland for some time, then returned to England. As they were entering a British port on board an Irish packet, Pauline became deeply interested in the conversation of two young men sitting near the Countess and herself. One pulled a paper out of his pocket and began to read to the other as follows:

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs has received from Lord Cowley the following communication:—Monsieur le Ministre, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency the annexed copy of an address, in which the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of Canada offer conjointly to the Queen their congratulations on the occasion of the victory gained by the allied armies at the Alma, and express their intention of contributing to the subscription in aid of the widows and orphans of the soldiers and seamen, both English and French, who have fallen in the present struggle. A sum of £20,000 having been for this object, sent to London by the government of

Canada to be divided equally between the two nations, I am charged to request your Excellency to inform me of the wishes of the Government of the Emperor relative to the mode of transmitting the £10,000 (250,000 francs) which belong to France."

I am, &c.,

Jan. 30th, 1855.

COWLEY.

Just as the young Irishman had concluded, three shrills touts of the steamer's whistle startled the passengers. Quick as the flash from a gun, the young man took the Countess L—— by the arm and said "quick ladies and see the lovely sight over the other side of the ship." In an instant they were up and almost to the other side, when a collision occurred and the ladies fell into his arms from the shock. Arthur hastened from another quarter of the packet, where he had been looking after his luggage. The upper part of the steamer had been stove in and the ladies escaped serious injury, if not death.

A few years earlier a young man named Windham, had rescued on one of those Irish packets two ladies from imminent death in a similar collision in the Irish Channel. This latter lived to become the hero of the Redan, the former a few years later won the Victoria Cross for valor on the sunny plains of India.

A WARNING FROM OVER THE SEA.

Shortly before the introduction of the British North America Act in the British Parliament, an

English officer arrived from America and met at Arthur's home a gentleman of one of Her Majesty's regiments deeply interested in Canadian confederation. In conversation the officer said: I have spent some time in the United States and recently travelled through Quebec, Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, spending a few weeks in each of the provinces, before finally embarking at Halifax for home. To whatever part of the Canadas, (with of course some exceptions) I directed my attention I found evidences of advanced civilization, and all those accommodations which an emigrant so often looks for in vain. Canada occupies a high position in its agricultural mercantile and manufacturing interests. Few colonies possess the advantages it offers, in an intellectual and religious point of view. Its political institutions open up a wide field for talent and energy which could find no exercise at home. The politics of the country are in a deplorable condition nevertheless, and the provinces on the verge of bankruptcy. The factions are worse in some respects than those of Ireland. Party and prejudice are rampant. The Maritime Provinces can only save those provinces' credit and regulate their political machinery. They are doomed without their aid, hence the terrible efforts to bring about the union on the part of both the liberals and conservatives of Ontario and Quebec. The clear

grit elements of Ontario are the loudest and most determined unionists in all British North America. They stop at nothing and never seem daunted.

"In the Maritime Provinces the people are real Britons and fervently loyal to our Queen. In Nova Scotia I found the great mass of the people deadly opposed to unite in a political compact with Ontario and Quebec, and I feel it will be unwise in our government to attempt by legislation to force this people into a union against their will. Their feelings toward the Motherland are too true to be even tampered with. I willingly admit, the union cannot be a success without Nova Scotia, but it will be a greater success when those people join it willingly, which I think they will if left alone for a few years. I may be mistaken but I am impressed that my views are correct. The men of the maritime provinces are hardy, intelligent and industrious, the women are excellent house-keepers and the daughters the "Belles of the Empire." The young ladies of Ontario and especially some of those of Quebec are exceptionally beautiful," (Pauline who was sitting beside her husband at the time, smiled and bowed,) but I had considered the ladies of New Zealand the handsomest I had ever seen, until I had visited St. John, Fredericton, Annapolis, Kentville, Windsor and Halifax and other

localities of the maritime provinces. I hope the people of Nova Scotia will be allowed to exert that British freedom they so much prize, and upon which all our institutions are founded. It is just that they should."

The gentleman who so strongly advocated the confederation scheme, and who afterwards received recognition from his sovereign, admitted the union was impossible of success without Nova Scotia, merely replied: "It must be accomplished to save the Canadas from political and financial shipwreck."

Just as the gentleman spoke the last words, the Countess entered the room. She was well acquainted with the gentleman, whose words she heard on entering. She invited him to repeat them. He did so. The Countess said: "Lieutenant, those last words of yours, bring to my mind a very unpleasant remembrance. A few years ago I thought the Canadas were a tribe of Indian warriors, but I rejoice to-day in having studied a little of our colonial history, enough indeed to correct me in my judgment of our people in the British North American colonies. How little we have known of our race in other lands. Association with those colonists informs us better than books, and the speeches of our politicians." At this moment Pauline re-entered the room having left a few minutes before the Countess came in. "Look," "Lieuten-

ant," said the Countess, "here comes one of the Canadas, I think her quite as beautiful as any lady in England and even more captivating. I was absolutely charmed at my first sight of her. You will be glad of the opportunity to listen to her, if she cares to speak concerning the union of Nova Scotia with the Canadas. She knows more about our Nova Scotian colonists than any of our statesmen, and thinks it not only unwise but wrong to interfere with the will of such an intelligent and loyal people." The Lieutenant looked at Pauline, and said; "you perhaps judge rightly, but there are times when England must consult her own interest first, even if that interest conflicts with the feelings of any one of her colonies. "If that be so," replied Pauline, "regarding a free and enlightened colony such as Nova Scotia is, I consider the enforcement of such English interest in opposition to the wish of the colonists, as unfounded in principle, and if such a policy is continued among our free colonies, it will be fatal in its consequences to this country. With my knowledge of Nova Scotians, if I were a public man, I would condemn such a system at the beginning, and oppose its progress in every stage, both in and out of Parliament."

The Lieutenant laughingly replied; "Perhaps I am guided in my opinion by strategy, and military knowledge, rather than purely political knowledge, if I may so express myself, regarding

the union of Nova Scotia with the Canadas." "That, I dare say is true, and to use another's expression, 'your words are a grenadier's march to my heart,' but 'my mouth shall speak of wisdom; and the meditation of my heart shall be of understanding.' Our prayer, the prayer of this nation, should be that every statesman of the land, may be guided in his action by the third verse of the forty-ninth psalm, when he attempts to interfere with that beautiful and rich little English colony lying far away in the Atlantic, and inhabited by the bravest and truest British hearts. It is not for you and me Lieutenant with our knowledge of those people to sanction an extreme course and the exercise of arbitrary rule. Power continued by gentle means, and by degrees, rather than by a sudden exhibition of strength, is in its nature more desirable and firm, than by any other means. It was once said that an English government mistook a single province of Massachusetts Bay for the American Empire, and in this day English statesmen seem to know as little about Nova Scotia, as they once did about Massachusetts. You may not know the province as well as I do and the state of feeling there," replied Pauline. The Lieutenant answered by saying: "I feel rather surprised, you being a Canadian, do not wish to see a compact union, called Canadian."

Pauline readily replied: "I am proud of being a Canadian, and desire to see a compact and

satisfactory union. But because I was free born, I object to a forced and unsatisfactory one, in one of its principal parts."

The Lieutenant here turned the conversation, and soon after took his departure. And in no long time, after his visit to Arthur's home, was appointed to an honorable position in one of Her majesty's colonies.

The lieutenant admitted to Arthur the next time that they met, that Pauline's thorough common sense, her love of liberty, together with her easy and graceful manner, and captivating and earnest tone, were indeed a grenadier's march to his heart. And that she had almost persuaded him that she judged correctly, but he felt that his position would not allow him to retreat from the stand he had taken.

The most notable variation between the lieutenant and Pauline was that the lieutenant's politics resembled a piece of haughty and domineering state-craft, whereas the politics of Pauline were part of her nature. She was aware from her knowledge of Nova Scotians, that they could be trusted to enjoy their freedom, without the least fear that they would abuse their opportunities.

If British statesmen had possessed the true nobility of aim which inspired Pauline, there would have been no forcing of Nova Scotia into the Canadian Union, in eighteen hundred and

sixty-seven. And if the leader or leaders of the Nova Scotian government party had possessed a little of the purity and patriotism of this splendid Canadian woman, it is difficult to say what great and growing advantages would have surrounded Nova Scotia at the present hour. Pauline well knew that it would have been a statesmanship far more in keeping with the time, for English politicians to have listened to the appeals of the colonists in defence of their rights, rather than to a hungry band of placemen and pensioners in the service of Britain in the colony, or to a few Nova Scotian politicians, who in view of the possibility of carrying the province into the union looked forward to Canadian or Imperial honours. If their success raised them in the esteem of Englishmen, it rendered them still more obnoxious to every true Nova Scotian colonist, and to every Canadian, influenced by a spirit as noble as that of Pauline.

There is scarcely a person, among the British aristocracy of to-day to whom the word Canada would suggest red skins or convicts or the name Nova Scotia, Maoris or Zulus.

And naval and military officers and English statesmen have found out, that not in the increase of battle ships and guns, nor in the command of a mighty commerce alone, lies the power of Britain, but that in a greater degree,

she finds her power increasing through the expansion and development of magnificent provinces and territories in her great colonial possessions.

The colonies are making the Greater Britain, which some day compared with Great Britain may appear as powerful as the latter did to Nova Scotia in eighteen hundred and sixty-seven. Great and small colonies are achieving many triumphs, other and greater victories are yet in store for them. It may be advantageous to civilization and the world at large, if colonial progress does not lessen Great Britain's power. England has been implicitly trusted alike by her great and proud colonies and her equally proud and smaller ones. Whatever the future of Great Britain and her colonies may be, the outlook would seem to forecast a more extensive alliance of the Anglo Saxon race firmly united in the cause of civilization under their several forms of popular government.

British statesmen and soldiers have sometimes blundered, but their history is still incomparable. What they, in their own way have accomplished for Great Britain the Anglo Saxons, their brethren, scattered about the globe, will accomplish in their own way for the world.

CHAPTER XIII.

Canadian and Other Tariffs.

Whether Canada has prospered under a protective tariff more rapidly than she would have prospered under a non-protective tariff, is a question it might be difficult to decide. No doubt protection has done good in some sections of the Dominion, while its effects have been the opposite in other localities. Freer commercial intercourse with the New England States, would have been a much greater boon to the Maritime Province during the past twenty years, than all their trade with the rest of Canada and protection included. Hardly any intelligent citizen of these provinces will deny this statement.

But looking at what nearly all other countries and governments have been doing through the past quarter of a century, it is difficult to see how Canada could have escaped a protective tariff. Even if England had given her colonies an advantage over other countries in her markets, in prohibiting foreign articles from competing with those of her colonies on even terms, which she is never likely to do, it is most difficult to understand, how Canada could have stood the competition of the United States, and

at the same time have created any great industrial establishments of her own.

Protection like an epidemic has been spreading over the whole face of the globe, and manufactories of all kinds have been springing up like mushrooms.

Articles that were largely exported about the world, such as cotton, woolen, silk, linen, steel and iron, glass and pottery, all manufactured, can now scarcely find markets in America, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Austria, Hungary, Italy or Spain, these goods are manufactured cheaper and as good in all these countries as they are in the United States. They are manufactured in all these countries about as cheaply as in any one of them. And all these countries have custom duties on all these classes of goods, in some instances higher than those that were imposed by the McKinley law in America.

We cannot turn to any continent of the world without meeting with protection. If we look at Asia we find in India high duties, with discrimination in favour of English goods, and some classes of these goods are manufactured in India. In China some of these classes of goods are also manufactured there by labourers getting ten cents a day, who subsist on fish and rice. There are many articles the Chinese do not manufacture, but they are yearly acquiring the ability

to make all classes of goods needed in that vast country. At the present time Great Britain with cheaper goods than America, and some of the European countries controls the trade of China.

If we look at Japan, a high rate of duties is found there, and cheap labor engaged in manufacturing many articles formerly imported. In the Australian colonies, in all but one, there are high custom duties with discrimination in favor of England.

Africa is largely supplied by Great Britain, France, Belgium and Germany with manufactured and other articles, but Africa is largely just opening.

If we look at our own continent, we find Mexico with a tariff law covering all classes of manufactured goods. In Brazil, the Argentine Republic, Peru, Chili, Bolivia and all the principal countries of South America the case is the same. So it must be admitted that protection and the spread of manufacturing industries around the world have severely hampered the commerce of the globe, and the countries that can manufacture the cheapest or place their manufactured articles in the ports of those countries, that have not yet been able to manufacture for themselves, will secure their business in this line.

Canada could have kept on importing all she required in manufactured goods from England

and the United States, but all the operatives working in industrial establishments of the country, would have been manufacturing goods for Canada in the United States, and in all probability Ontario and Quebec would have shown little more increase in population during the last decade than the three maritime provinces. If the United States had been willing to continue the Reciprocity Treaty of eighteen hundred and fifty-four until the present time, it is more than likely, it is almost certain every portion of the Dominion would have been as prosperous as its most prosperous parts. There seemed to be nothing left for Canada but protection, and the Hon. Alexander McKenzie appeared to realize this when he added two and one-half per cent. to the tariff during his administration and received the support of the anti-union members from Nova Scotia in this piece of legislation, and also in placing a duty on American oil fifty per cent. higher, than has been placed on any other article since that time. It is generally believed to-day, that if the leader of the clear grit party, the Hon. George Brown had not with persistence interfered with Mr. McKenzie's intentions, the liberal leader would have been the first statesman to have established the protective system in this country, and some portions of some of his speeches appear to support this belief. Canada has been forced

into this position through the circumstances surrounding her. Other countries were drawing away her people, she was obliged to do something to retain her population in her towns, cities and centres of trade. The country has produced few if any giant monopolies in the past twenty years, and it is in a better position to hold these in check, than the people and government of the United States are to control the great monopolies of that country. If Canada continues to keep an ever watchful eye on her industries and regulate their growth, she will be acting well in the interests of her future. It is thought by able and observing minds, that a change in the protective system of the world will be brought about sooner or later, and that like the great military and naval systems of Europe which must some day burst by their own power, if not modified by some other cause, protection will meet the same fate.

There is no invention in British, American or German machinery, which reduces the cost of production, that is not at once adopted in every manufacturing country of the world. And so the business goes on, manufacture for ourselves, protect ourselves and squeeze in where we can, till each country is practically living in its own hive, and its inhabitants are restrained from gathering from abroad, and unlike the bees which unmolested gather their honey from

flower to flower and field to field and continue to increase in number and plenty. We have not yet found Canadian cities stuffed with idlers and paupers. Wages have been average, prices moderate, and few undesirable immigrants have been encouraged to come into the country. The people have lived economically and have not been overburdened with taxation. When her natural products and other articles were shut out of one market, she found another. Her surplus products have readily found a market in the mother country ; and her banking system is sound. She has had few whisky kings, railway kings or millionaires to control her legislatures. She has few political bosses of importance in any of her great cities, and if the people prove true to themselves and their country in the future as they have in the past, they will check the rapid growth of millionaires and gradually pull down the barriers of class distinction and bring about a purer socialism. Self respect, morality and education and true manhood will completely overshadow vain pretensions, and throw back the power of wealth, and check the pride of birth and subdue it within proper limits, and the society of the educated and manly mariner, agriculturalist, mechanic, artizan, fisherman and honest toiler, will be as good and elevating, as he who carries a title or wears a decoration, or of those who deal out law and medicine, and of

the millionaire and those who thrive and flourish through the droppings of those who have lived and died before them.

The power of England has been, and is, great on land and sea. Her commercial power is also great, and were she to put at a stroke a McKinley tariff upon her imports from all countries; where would Canada be? Where would the United States be? Where would every country that sends its thousands of articles annually to her shores be? And where would England in a little while herself be? She could by such an act very largely block the commerce of the round world, and whatever distress and misfortune such an experiment would cause to the nations at large, it would soon cause the bringing in of freer commercial intercourse in all the earth. It is to be hoped, our statesmen of whatever party they may call themselves will not seriously tinker with this country's tariff, until some event brings about a trade reformation in the United States.

Canada has not been the first of Britain's possessions to discriminate in favour of imported goods from the mother land, that honor belongs to India and the Australian colonies.

It is a fact, that under a protective policy, the consumer has to pay more for his goods, than under a free trade policy. Some politicians will tell us such is not the case, because the more industries you encourage by a high tariff, the

more competition there is in a country, and competition cheapens articles. True it does. But a high tariff places a limit on competition. It places a barrier against the competition of other lands, some of which produce certain articles cheaper than Canada is able to produce them. The expression, "we must protect our industries," proves conclusively, that foreign competition would bring goods into the country at a price lower than the Canadian articles, and by flooding the markets bring all classes of goods to a much lower level in prices. In one respect this would be an advantage to the consumer by giving him a free market and cheaper goods.

Mr. Davies, Mr. Foster and Sir Richard Cartwright in speaking on the tariff in the House of Commons a few years ago, took different views, at least two of them from the other, (apparently different views), but in following out their different ways, they all come out at the same wicket. Mr. Foster believed by reducing the tariff on sugar, &c., he was giving the people some millions, the consumers they were called, and consequently lightening the burden of taxation from off the shoulders of the consumers. Sir Richard Cartwright and Mr. Davies believed the National Policy was costing the consumers from ten to eleven million dollars annually, and by reducing this amount from the taxation caused by a high tariff, it would be putting

eleven million dollars into the pockets of the consumers. When we uncover their views, by taking away a mass of figures and words, which covers and mystifies them, both their opinions are as completely united as were the bodies of the "Siamese Twins." The simplicity of a great truth is often hidden, by a speaker who designedly covers with words and figures his real opinions for purely selfish and interested motives. Such men confuse the minds and thoughts of electors who have not the time, nor sometimes the inclination to look into the prominent or great question placed before them, and are an obstruction to the advance of great truths, and the spread of a healthy public opinion. There is this to say of protection, and it is a simple saying, and will be clearly understood by every reader, it is this, it is better for the country to raise eleven million dollars of extra taxation from the people on manufactured goods, no matter into whose pockets the money goes, or from whom it comes, in a country where people are free to buy what they require, or as much or little as they desire, than to have thirty millions go out of the country to employ foreign labour in a land, where it is proposed not to return one million of this money to support the working classes of the country from which they received the money. The circumstances which the Acts of other lands and people, place about

us, very often lead us to support policies we would like to see abolished by these other lands and other peoples. Policies to which we may be opposed and compelled to adopt in the interest of our own industries and working classes.

The great danger of a high protective tariff is in the increasing greed of corporations, and the power they exert in governments and parliaments, and at the polls, to the injury of the working classes.

A clear and concise writer, has said : " It is of first importance to keep ever in the foreground the fundamental fact that the real issue is and must be the commonwealth against the corporations ; that is, the freedom, happiness, and prosperity of all the people against the aggression of organized greed. It matters not whether we consider the question from the standpoint of economics, from that of public morality and national integrity, or from that of private virtue and self respecting manhood ; whether we view it in its relation to the liberty of the people and that sound morality upon which enduring free government alone can rest ; whether we view it merely as a question of business relating to the interests of the people ; or whether we consider the higher and more important aspects which relate to the fundamentals upon which lasting civilization rests,—this issue becomes one of first importance to every right thinking man, whether he be statesman or educator, farmer or artizan."

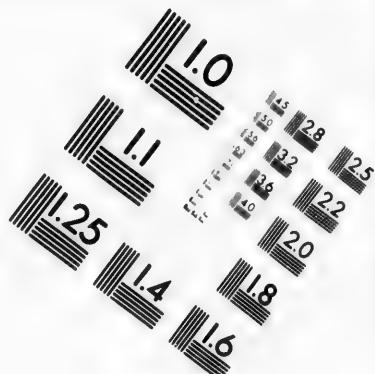
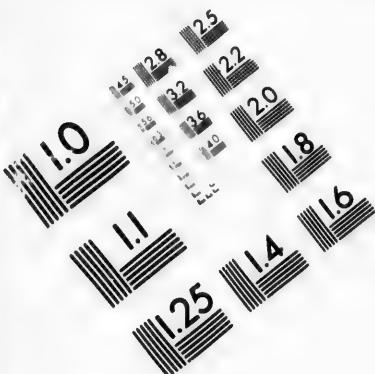
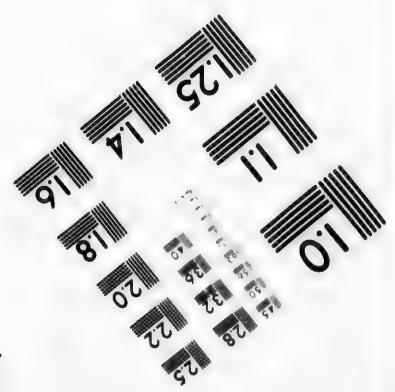
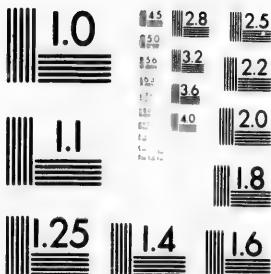
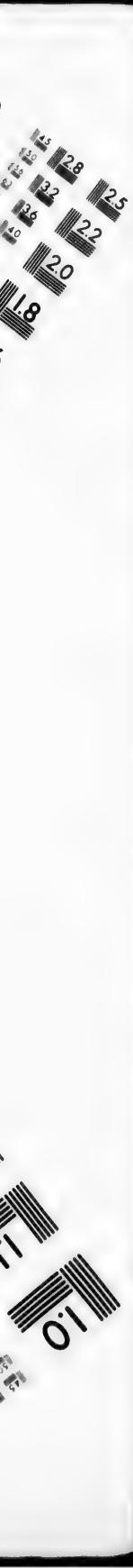


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When one political party, declares that the prosperity of the country depends absolutely upon its policy, and its policy is protection, and the other party declares its policy is the opposite of protection, there must be uncertainty in the minds of the people as to the future. Instead of both sides being moderate, they become more extreme in their views. One sustained by its policy is fighting desperately to maintain its ground, the other supported by its policy as determinedly trying to defeat its opponents and drive them out of their position. While this is going on, with victory on one side and sometimes on the other, uncertainty as to the future reigns supreme, and more especially is this so, when neither party shows a willingness to yield a point to the other about the things for which they are contending. The situation in the United States will confirm the above, we have seen the American treasury under a high as well as under a low tariff, and withal under a continually changing tariff, suffering deficits, and continuous strikes and unrest among the masses. England with her unchanging system of duties has been steadily moving forward, with her exchequer full to overflowing, and with but slight interruptions of unrest among her working classes. Canada may not yet have reached that stage, when sudden and continuous changes are being made in her tariff, and it is hoped she never

will. Among the greatest evils any country can be called upon to endure, is when its tariff is being ceaselessly tinkered with by one party or the other. Far better would it be under the present restrictions surrounding the commerce of the world, for a country to endure the penalties of a high tariff or the disappointments of free trade, rather than the fluctuating and tinkering system of the United States.

The people will soon find out that the professions of an irresponsible opposition are out of date, when such opposition, changes its place to one of responsibility, and where it has to consider the numerous and important interests fostered by a tariff of eighteen or twenty years standing. The people readily see that any sudden and drastic change, under present conditions, would shake the foundations upon which trade has been resting, from one end of the country to the other.

In opposition to the tariff policies of other countries England is better enabled to continue on in her course of comparative free trade, than would any other country under the sun. England is not only a great trader, but also a great banker. Most every country of the globe owes her millions of money, and some of them very many millions; it has been said that the amount she draws annually, from interest and dividends out of these countries, approach half her yearly

revenue. This statement may be near the truth or it may not.

One thing is certain, and that is, her annual income from these sources is very great. In finding a market open and unrestricted for all these countries, she is contributing toward paying her subjects the interests and dividends due from other nations and peoples. Whereas, if a protective tariff was levied on all those articles of import, the borrowing power of other countries would be diminished and their capabilities of paying their interests and dividends impaired. In this way she is enabled to purchase cheaper than most countries. While she occupies this position, it is difficult to see how she can place a duty on her foreign imports, or give her colonists a preference in her markets over other countries. Statesmen and politicians may talk about protection, fair trade and discrimination in the mother country, but none of them receive any satisfactory encouragement from the English people, who are most cautious in attempting any serious change in their revenue system. Her present system is likely to remain, as unchangeable as her people. No risk of commercial ruin is involved in extensive commercial relations with Great Britain. No English government is at the mercy of organized and powerful combinations of wealth. A government is incapable of taking care of itself when regulated and controlled by great trusts and corporations. Good and safe government can only rest on the uncorrupted voice of the people.

CHAPTER XIV.

Independent Action.

The five years probation promised by Mr. Blake came to a close at the beginning of the year eighteen hundred and seventy-four. Messrs. McKenzie's and Blake's party took the reins of power about this time. These Honorable gentlemen had seventeen professed anti union members amongst their supporters. Some of the seventeen were the most pronounced anti unionists of Nova Scotia. Not one of these seventeen, made a demand upon Mr. Blake to fulfil his promise. There was no raising of the tomahawk, or daubing on of war paint and brandishing of scalping knives and figuring in a war dance. They were silent, tranquil, and full of passive obedience to their chiefs. Yet some of these braves, joined in the Nova Scotia pow-wow of eighteen hundred and eighty-six. These so-called seventeen Anti Nova Scotia representatives, sat with Messrs. McKenzie and Blake; they voted with Messrs. McKenzie and Blake, and they supported the union with McKenzie and Blake, and some were members of a union cabinet, yet not one of them ever troubled Messrs. McKenzie and Blake about repeal for Nova Scotia, and what is

even worse, not one of these Nova Scotia members ever opened his mouth about an extension of the eighty-two thousand, six hundred and ninety-eight dollars, as the ten years for which this sum was annually given to Nova Scotia were about to expire. They were docile; they were beautifully contented; they were smiling; they were in office; they were in power; these things were much nearer their hearts than anti-unionism; than repeal, better terms or an extension for another ten years or forever of the eighty-two thousand and odd dollars. There has been often openly announced a sentiment, which declares all is fair in politics, but it is hoped the day is at hand, when deception will stand for deception, and insincerity for insincerity, whether committed in political or private life. Party has given principle too long the cold shoulder in Canada, as well as in other countries.

A public man may honestly change his views on great public questions, or on any fixed line of policy. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone has done so. The late Lord Beaconsfield had changed his political views many times, and so did the late Sir Robert Peel, but they openly let their constituents and the world know what they had done. No public man should be condemned for a conscientious change of view. He should be the more respected. Sir Robert Peel has said:

" He held it impossible for any man to adopt one fixed line of policy under all circumstances ; and the only question with him when he departed from that line should be : ' am I actuated by any interested or sinister motives ? ' and do I consider the measure I contemplate called for by the circumstances and necessities of the country ? " There are men, perhaps their number is limited, who enter political life, and at the same time feel that they will never allow themselves to become mere machines in working out other men's views, or in practicing other men's deceptions. There are two things such men keep separate from each other. These two things are principle and party. Principle they store deep in their heart, and party they commit to the grave. They never allow political or party prejudice to override their judgment and conscience. They are men into whose hands it is safe to commit the affairs of a nation or province. The time already appears to be quite at hand in this province and in this Dominion when men may without difficulty act as honest and independent legislators, and at the same time as honest and devoted servants of the people.

Sir Robert Peel has also said : " If men were always to adhere to old notions their experience would be worth nothing ; and what is experience worth if it teach not wisdom ? The outcry about inconsistency and turncoatism has scared

many an honest man in public life from the expression of his heart conviction."

If there had been more principle and much less party, and no interested or sinister motives in the local legislature of eighteen hundred and sixty-six, Nova Scotians would have been at liberty to either have entered the Canadian Union or remain as they were. The Nova Scotia Legislature committed a grave wrong, a despotic act, the recollection of which will always suggest despotism. Every lover of liberty, every independent thinker, every true Nova Scotian, and every English statesman acquainted with the facts must condemn the act of that legislature. Sir Charles Gavin Duffy, a few years ago in claiming the right for Ireland of determining the provisions of her newly proposed constitution said: "Whenever the necessity for a written constitution arose in any country representative men of the nation proceeded to consider the special provisions suited to its character and requirements. British colonies great and small exercised an *independent* judgment. The farmers and fishermen of Prince Edward Island and the *convict* population of Van Dieman's Land equally with the intelligent and aspiring citizens of Canada and Australia picked and chose for themselves, and *their* choice when made was confirmed by an imperial statute. The people to be enfranchised, to be worthy of their destiny,

must be *active and sympathetic partners* in whatever is done to establish and regulate their liberties. If they themselves cannot do this work it will never be effectually or permanently done."

Sir Charles Gavin Duffy lays down the only principle consistent with freedom. The people should choose their representatives or delegates for a particular business. Everybody knows that Hon. Charles Tupper and his associates in the Nova Scotia Legislature were not chosen by the electors of the province, to make any terms with Canada or to alter the constitution of the province. They were elected to perform the functions, and only the functions, their predecessors performed for a quarter of a century. The farmers and fishermen of Prince Edward Island did choose for themselves, and the ship builders and farmers of New Brunswick did the same, and the convict population of Van Dieman's Land have the power to pick and choose their delegates and exercise an independent judgment in all matters connected with the constitution of their country. British colonies great and small exercised an independent judgment, even when the necessity for a written constitution arrived. How much greater the necessity for an independent judgment, when anyone but the people attempt to interfere with that written constitution. The appointing of the delegates to the

Charlottetown convention, as far as it was done by the Governor, was not wrong, because the people seemed to favour a maritime union, but there would have been no maritime union without the sanction of the electors. The delegation to the Quebec conference, and the passing of the Canadian union resolutions by the local legislature was a high handed and a shameful usurpation of power in face of the popular will. They dare not submit the question of confederation to the people, because they were aware they would have been routed, horse, foot and artillery. It was a traitor's victory, and if anyone could have seen into the lives of the actors all through their subsequent career, it is quite likely he would have found there a continued and strange mixture of intense happiness and equally intense misery. Happy, because selfish desires had been obtained. Intense misery, because of the continued frowns of their fellow colonists, knowing full well when they depart hence they go unwept, unhonored and unsung.

After the Nova Scotia legislature and delegates had so ignominiously settled all to their satisfaction and the Imperial Parliament had established the union, Messrs. Blake, MacKenzie and their Clear Grit adherents swallowed the British North America Act in a lump, as one swallows some delicious fruit. Blake and MacKenzie may have had interested motives in their

opposition to any amendment of the Act of Union. They may have been pandering to the clamour of their constituents. They may not have possessed independence enough to express their honest convictions. They must have known the best minds and ablest statesmen of England were against them. In eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, Mr. Disraeli said in the British House of Commons: "I take no exaggerated views of the articles of union," (he was referring to the British North America Act) and the Great Acts of Parliament, which were passed to carry them into effect, cannot by any consent of the sovereign and of the estates of the realm be changed and modified." On the side of the anti unionists of Nova Scotia, it is wonderful that they should conceive a warmth of friendship, which might be described as devotion for the men and party, which were the most intense unionists of the whole country. These men in the House of Commons from Nova Scotia at that time showed neither manly independence nor noble aspirations. They carried party deep in their hearts and consigned principle to the grave. Party success and power were dearer to them than their province. They willingly served in the ranks of the enemies of their province in the hope of party preferment. Party has been made a great obstacle to the happiness and prosperity of a people, as well as a great stimulant to industry and freedom.

But the days are signaling the arrival of other days which with the light they are bringing, will point out and rectify the wrongs and faults of the past. We see much clearer to-day, the mistakes of thirty years ago, than they were seen at that time ; we are to profit by experience.

Lord Rosebery not long ago in a speech, probably forecast the coming views of the masses in civilized communities, when he said : "the conscience of the community, now at last alive to its duties to all classes, would bring in a higher morality as the future of politics. By that are governments henceforth to be guided. There was now an unnamed body of citizens ever inclined to say : A plague on both your houses ; a plague on both your parties ; and who demand of politicians to cease their mere talk and do something for the people. I hope to see at no distant day a prime minister who from time to time will descend from the platform of party and speak straight to the hearts of his fellow countrymen." His words are the herald of the new political morning. The proclamation of a policy for the people and by the people. The system that makes men see in party, all that is loving and beautiful, all that is satisfying and comforting, a system that accepts nothing, believes nothing, hopes for nothing outside party lines, will make the way clear for this higher morality in politics, and for the proclamation of

policies for the people and by the people. The progress that is being made in Canada in the direction of this new reform is not so much due to statesmen and politicians, as to hard-working, observing, determined citizens, with spirits uncompromising and ever ready to go forward, honest in their efforts to bring about a socialism, which is not socialism, but a far purer and far more practical doctrine. For the lack of such minds, and spirits, and such consciences, in the House of Commons during the first decade of confederation the record of Nova Scotia has been largely a failure.

Sir Oliver Mowatt, a gentleman, a statesman and a patriot, who was never inflated with the Clear Gritism of George Brown and Edward Blake, and who has been able to peer deeper into the future than either, and whose mind has been ever glancing all around and through party lines, has said in a magnificent speech : " If any of us in time desire to become an independent nation ; if any of us are for Canada first ; if we prefer our own people to any other people ; if we do not wish that as a political organization our dear Canada should be annihilated ; if we do not wish to be ourselves party to its receiving its death-blow as a nation, our proper course is plain, the course of us all, *Conservatives and Reformers alike* : it is to cherish our own institutions ; to foster the affections of our own people toward

the fatherland ; to strengthen their appreciation of the greatness and the glories of the Empire ; to stimulate their interest in its grand history in the cause of freedom and civilization ; and to give now and always to the Dominion and to the provinces the best administration of public affairs that is practicable by our *best statesmen and best public men whosoever they may be*. I hope that when another century has been added to the age of Canada it may still be Canada, and that its second century, like its first, be celebrated by Canadians unabsorbed, numerous, powerful and at peace."

"To give now and always to the Dominion and the provinces the best administration of public affairs by our best statesmen and best public men whosoever they may be," are words coming from one who represents and advocates true Liberal principles. These guiding words should be treasured in the memory of every Canadian. They should be his watch-words at every political contest, Dominion and Provincial.

CHAPTER XV.

The Duty of Canadians to their Country.

The principles of the Reform Party of Canada at the entering in of Confederation were as follows:—

“That it is alike the duty and desire of the Canadian people to cultivate the most friendly relations with the neighboring people of the United States, and especially to offer every facility for the extension of trade and commerce between the two countries. The convention anticipates with pleasure that the day is not far distant when the government of the Republic will modify their restrictive commercial policy towards the British American colonies; and while holding it the true Canadian policy to look diligently about for new and profitable markets for the products of the Dominion, wherever they can be found, and while well satisfied that such markets exist in other foreign lands, fully as lucrative as those heretofore enjoyed, yet this convention regards it as the duty of the Canadian administration to meet frankly and cordially any overtures from the Washington Government for a new treaty of commercial reciprocity between Canada and the Republic, extending over a fixed

term of years, based on equitable principles, and consistent with the honor of both countries."

The above resolution was moved at the great Reform convention in the Music Hall at Toronto on the twenty-seventh of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, just four days before Confederation was established. It was moved by Mr. John Smith, of Hamilton, and seconded by Mr. McDougall, of West Elgin, and unanimously assented to. This was to be the true policy of the Reform Party of Canada in the parliaments of the Union and everywhere over the country. As soon as the government at Washington expressed a desire for closer trade relations with Canada, the Reform Party would be willing to listen to their proposals, if they were based on equitable principles and consistent with the honor of both countries. The Americans have so far never done this, and Canada has been compelled to protect her markets from being controlled by the Americans.

From the tone of the resolution it seems hardly consistent with the honor and dignity of Canadians to travel to commercial centres in the United States and make speeches in favor of reciprocity, or go to Washington seeking a modification of United States tariff laws in favour of Canada, without first being invited to do so, by the President and government of the Republic.

The views of the Honorable Alexander MacKenzie were always in accord with the sentiments of the above resolution. Listen to the words of Mr. MacKenzie in one of his public addresses. "I had," he said, "the pleasure the other night of sitting beside a distinguished gentleman from the United States. A newspaper of that morning had made a reference to Mr. Blaine being a strong opponent of reciprocity, and to my being an advocate of it, and conjectured that we would probably be able to settle our differences at the banquet. Well, I referred to the matter simply saying, that so far as reciprocity was concerned, I believed myself in trade, and though every Yankee failed to trade in anything else, he would trade in jack knives, but I said that if the modern Yankee had changed in this respect and declined to swap on equal terms, we must swap with somebody else."

Listen again to the words of Mr. McKenize in the same address. "Let me refer," he continued, "to Sir Alexander Galt's utterance: He says he would adopt such a policy with the United States as would be independent of any action of theirs in relation to the introduction of their goods into the Dominion, and that the tariff must be regulated to suit Canadian interests only. That has been my policy all my life, and I refused to go into a government of which he was a prominent member, Chancellor of the

Exchequer, because I conceived that his policy of eighteen hundred and sixty-six would lay us at the feet of the United States commercially. I refused for that reason, so that I am glad to know that if we differed ten years ago we are in entire harmony at the present moment as to the policy to be adopted by this country."

The words of Mr. McKenzie delivered in eighteen hundred and seventy-seven are as clear as a cloudless sky. While the Americans adhered to protection against Canadian goods, he was in favour of a tariff to be regulated to suit Canadian interests only. And such was his view ten years earlier, when he refused to go into a government, whose policy he feared would lay the markets of his country at the feet of the United States. And such were his views all his life, including the four years he governed the country from the beginning of eighteen hundred and seventy-four until his government was defeated in eighteen hundred and seventy-eight. And such is the only true and patriotic policy for the Dominion, while the condition of the United States tariff towards Canada remains as at present.

Canadians have looked abroad for other markets and have accomplished wonders in this direction. The trade statistics for the years eighteen hundred and ninety-four and those of eighteen hundred and ninety-seven are some-

thing to cheer the hearts of the people. We have shown the American people that we can thrive and grow without them, even if their high protection tariff does press very hard on the people of the Maritime Provinces. Our country has not been overrun with tramps, and

"The first low wash of waves
Where soon shall roll a human sea,"

highly agitated and boisterous, pressing up to the very doors of Parliament, is as far distant as ever in the new Dominion.

Every thoughtful Canadian is deeply sensible of the importance of close trade relations with the United States, and there is a class of Americans who desire freer trade with this country. And if the Maritime Provinces of Canada and the New England States of America had been free to make a treaty or arrange their tariffs, long ago, satisfactory trade relations would have existed between the peoples of these important sections of the two great countries. But as the United States as a whole, and Canada as a whole, have full charge of their tariff and treaty arrangements, nothing can be accomplished in the way of change except through the general governments of these peoples. If Canada is to become a great nation, she must maintain her dignity with her growth, and patiently wait until her neighbour shows a willingness to remove the barriers she erected against the Dominion.

Those who first raised the obstructions are the proper ones first to attempt to remove them. Canadians have again and again shown that they have no aversion to a change, but would heartily welcome one, if such a change could be brought about consistent with the dignity and honor of their country. The people of the Dominion are national in feeling, proud of the race from which they sprung, and are fully determined to sustain their country in the proud position which she occupies. To pursue any other course is to admit the country is incapable of taking care of itself without the assistance of the United States. We must look to ourselves, rely upon ourselves, without any further looking to Washington or reliance upon the Congress of the United States. Any further efforts in this direction will only multiply and prolong the mistaken methods which have proved fruitless in the past. This experiment has been thoroughly tried and utterly failed, and will as often fail, until the Americans exhibit a serious desire to bring about a change in their trade relations with the people of this country.

Canada is prosperous, tranquil and happy, in most of her parts there is scarcely any unrest concerning taxation. The country has not become the dumping ground of misery, degradation and crime from the cities and countries of Europe. The Canadians seem to have remem-

bered the fact, that to a considerable extent the immigrants yearly arriving in any country direct the destinies of that country, and have only encouraged those of a better class, who are opposed to outlaw, ignorance and irreligion. They encourage only those who are in favour of sound institutions and peaceful progress. The country is in need of immigrants, it has still room for hundreds of thousands of them, but it has decided to obtain them if possible from those localities where moral and religious instruction in various forms is given to the youth.

Before the building of railways into the far west of the United States, atheism, outlaw, robbery and murder were rampant.

All through the west and far west of Canada, the Pacific Railway has been the open door for the Bible and the first settlements of those districts took place under the banner of the cross. Canadians seem to have realized from the foundation of the union until the present, that the greatness of England and the extent of her power, has been in the national acceptance of the christian religion. And in holding to this belief lies the safety and security of the Canadian Union. It would be safe in the Dominion, it would be well for the Dominion to extend to every nation builder, who has been long enough in the country to understand something of its institutions, and who can read and write, and who

is not an idiot, the freedom of the franchise. The working men of the country in every department of toil have proved themselves worthy of this liberty. Those who have been denied the franchise because two or three hundred dollars of property was wanting to qualify them, have in most cases exhibited a manly and patriotic spirit. Their hands, and heads, and hearts have been peacefully and steadily engaged in developing the country and working out its destinies.

The men who take the lead in this legislation, will prove themselves deeply interested in the future of the working men of the country, and their act will be forever remembered with gratitude.

While we see the toilers in some other countries, and in much older countries distressed and turbulent, the working classes of the Dominion, perhaps more so than at any other period in the history of the country are contented and prosperous. And over the larger part of Canada, to quote the beautiful words used by Sheridan,—

“Content sits basking on the cheek of toil.”

The United States and Canada are proud of their ancestry. They are brethren, impelled by that free spirit which has been the boast of Britons from time immemorial. Between Canada and America there should be no dissension.

Both countries stand at the head of modern civilization. Their literature, their language, their love of freedom, their laws and institutions, their aims and hopes are much alike. In the progress of the United States all Canadians feel a pride, and the truest citizens of the Republic rejoice at the youthful vigor of Canada.

Neither country whatever their differences in questions of trade, or tariff, can help seeing in the other evidences of goodness and virtue and internal worth, and of lofty aspirations and generous sympathies which awaken their hearts to admiration of each other.



CHAPTER XVI.

Fidelity and Firmness in Discharge of Duty.

The noble effort, the glorious task of Sir Oliver Mowatt, performed at a critical time in Canadian history, will never, never be forgotten by his countrymen. His beautiful river of words will continually roll on invigorating the thoughts of the people, and stimulating every patriotic feeling as it passes down through the second century of representative government. It will pass along with increasing power and expanding volume to the close of another century, receiving in its flow ten thousand tributary streams rising in the hearts of the people and coming from every section of the country.

In all lands there are those persons, whose opportunities for informing themselves of the history of their country or of the workings of political parties and of government and legislation are so limited, it is well, to keep such grand words as those delivered by Sir Oliver Mowatt, at the close of the first century of representative government in Canada constantly on the wing, that they may the better be enabled in the midst of hypocrisy, extravagance, error and party prejudice and passion, to hear occasionally the outbursts of a true and honest heart.

Their unchecked flow will often inspire some careless and thoughtless citizen to a sense of his duty, and stir him to a true sense of his responsibilities. All Sir Oliver Mowatt's countrymen honour him, and the historian will hereafter honour him, for his noble patriotism, which has been proved by acts as well as words. And for the straight-forward simplicity of his conduct, which has led him to openly acknowledge the errors into which some of his friends had fallen. He has never preferred the interests of individuals before the interests of his country. Such men as he are the safest to trust with the affairs of a country. The breath of popular applause cannot turn aside such a man from a sense of his duty, which he follows with unfaltering step. Men like the present Governor of Ontario endeavour to deserve well of their country by deeds for which they receive no empty praise.

Whatever may be the opinions in Nova Scotia regarding confederation, it must be admitted that in many portions of the Dominion great things have been accomplished since the union. No old country or young country, has made such magnificent strides in so short a time. And all has been done in perfect peace.

There has been neither bloodshed nor riot, nor strikes to seriously interfere with the onward march. So far these splendid achievements are

the offspring of the union. In glancing backward over thirty years, even in this province our pulsations quicken, and our hopes in the future are strengthened.

Englishmen and Americans, alike, have again and again expressed their admiration at Canada's progress, and at the glories with which the victories of industry and peace have crowned her. From the lofty stage of the Imperial throne the Queen Empress has watched with a proud heart her unequalled success. And other European monarchs have looked across a troubled ocean, and wondered at the nation builders toiling in the west from sea to sea, excited by no fiery passions nor disturbed by any clamour. And it may be that more than one of those rulers have wept, as they turned about to view their own countries and thrones. Our glancing backward will strengthen our interest in the far away localities of the vast domain, in the fertile plains and boundless prairies, in the placid lakes and streams, and in the rushing rivers, in the grandeur of the mountains and beauty of the hills, and in all the vast developments from ocean to ocean during the last thirty years of Queen Victoria's reign. As we rest for a moment to consider all these splendid achievements, we are led to ask ourselves the question : Why these grand results ? Are they from the country and its people alone ? Men in power, men in opposi-

tion, men in agriculture, men in commerce, men in every department of enterprise and industry? Without stopping further to consider these questions, the answer flashes in upon us, as coming from an unseen quarter, Not from these alone. But because the people are building a nation founded upon the principles of the Christian religion, and thereby advancing the progress, the happiness, the grandeur and security of the country.

If it has been decreed that some day Canada shall take her place among the nations of the world, her career of peace, and respect for the Christian religion will have fitted her to perform her duties more nobly and more gloriously. These things will very greatly assist her to enter among the powers fully equipped.

If the Dominion is still to hold a first and favoured place among the possessions of the Empire and the peoples of the world, this can only be done by the honest exercise of all the powers of all her people and a determined resolve to trust in Him who has placed them in this high position, and in advance of some nations that sprung into existence centuries before.

We must lay aside our local disappointments and sorrows, without yielding up the honest demands for provincial satisfaction in part or in whole, and checking every sectarian or provincial ill feeling, press forward with all other sections

of the country in one great and united brotherhood, guided always by the precepts and example of Him who knows how to lead and how to govern.

As the first quarter of a century of United Canada has passed to its close, and the consolidation of the union assured, no nobler work will ever be performed by the present and coming generations, than to maintain in all its extent the grandeur and security of the New Dominion unimpaired.

Cultivating the arts of peace under the influence of freedom and Christianity, Canada has advanced by rapid strides to great distinction among the possessions of Great Britain. If the Dominion should ever in its career find it necessary to avenge insult or repel injury, it is hoped that other nations will be a witness to the equity of the sentiments and moderation of the views of its people. This great colony can always maintain her great and honored position, if Ingoists and Demigodo are kept in there proper place, and the conduct of those in authority is characterized by wisdom, moderation and firmness.

Let the whole career of the country, be based not upon any sectarian principle of education, politics or religion, but upon the broad principles of education, politics and religion, all founded upon the teaching, the life and example of Jesus Christ and His Apostles, then most assuredly the progress of the country will be like the progress of a pure stream, which is sure to fertilize the land through which it runs. Then the country could not be stopped in its career of glory under the sovereignty of the people.

CHAPTER XVII.

Coronation to the Diamond Jubilee.

From the Coronation down to Canadian Confederation Her Majesty had as counsellors ten Prime Ministers. This covered a period of just thirty years, and it will be seen before the conclusion of this chapter that she had exactly that number of Premiers for advisors during the thirty years from eighteen hundred and sixty-seven to the year of the Diamond Jubilee.

In the sixty years of her long reign she has therefore had for counsellors twenty political chieftains, or one for each three years of her rule. All these Prime Ministers have shown themselves to be exceptionally able statesmen. Some of them men who exhibited extraordinary tact in managing the House of Commons, but none of them had tact or genius enough to manage the Queen at will. Men of undoubted genius have utterly failed to acquire the command of that good woman. Her reign has been her own, and a consistent one, from beginning to the present. Royal supremacy and constitutional government have been linked together and marched side and side. In reality

the reign of Queen Victoria has been a revelation. The favourite doctrine of royal superiority has been kept in complete subjection by queenly common sense, and constitutional government has never received a jar. Her Majesty made no place for great nobles and influential commoners, who would take pride in supporting extravagant claims of the crown, in opposition to the rightful supremacy of Parliament.

She has shown to the world how a monarch can govern on constitutional principles, without any undue exercise of the royal prerogative. Her queenly career has been one of perpetual honor, and also of unceasing interest in the welfare of all her subjects. The advance of the principles of peace and upright administration has been her highest aim. Good men and women in all civilized countries, including those of the greatest capacity and most comprehensive views, as well as all others, are strong in their admiration of the moral courage displayed by the Queen in endeavoring, at all hazards consistent with the dignity and honour of Britain, to keep the peace of the world. Her trust is in God, Britain and the Empire. And among the titles that surround her immortal name, there is none more appropriate than Queen of the People.

Her power extends to the ends of the earth, and she rules around the world.

In a book of reference of the year eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, it is stated that the area of Her Majesty's dominions was at that time (2,000,000) two million square miles. Sixty years later a similar authority tells us that the British rule embraces no less than (11,335,000) eleven million, three hundred and thirty-five thousand square miles, an addition of (9,335,000) nine million, three hundred and thirty-five thousand square miles, since Victoria the First mounted the English throne.

The Roman Empire, which for centuries gave a measure of unapproachable magnitude to the minds of men and which seemed to overshadow the world, was vast indeed in its extent. But the acquisitions of territory in the sixty years of the Victorian Era to the British Empire have been greater in extent, than the whole dominion of Ancient Rome. And the Dominion of Canada embraces more than one quarter of this vast British Empire.

The Lord Chief Justice of England, in a speech delivered at the Hotel Metropole on the occasion of the South Australian dinner, gave in graphic words some of the salient features of the extent and character of the British Empire. He said: "The British Empire is fifty three times the size of France, fifty two times the size of Germany, three and a half times the size of the United States of America, thrice the size

of Europe, with treble the population of all the Russias. It extends over eleven million square miles, that is ninety one times the aera of the United Kingdom; and occupies one fifth of the human race, or three hundred and sixty millions of people. It embraces four continents, ten thousand islands, five hundred promontories, and two thousand rivers. Men of English, Irish, Scotch and Welch birth have acquired all this vast territory and mainly within the last one hundred and fifty years. Very much of it has been acquired and a great deal done to consolidate it during the sixty years of Her Majesty's reign. It is a mighty Empire."

Nova Scotia is but a speck of this mighty empire, yet small as it is, its people are as loyal to their Queen, as those of any spot in the vast domain. With one acclaim they voiced their greetings and congratulations at the close of Her Majesty's sixty years glorious reign, and added to these the prayer; That the providence, who has watched over her, and guided her through all her rule, may spare her many years to rule over them and her millions of contented and happy subjects.

The leading events in Canada since confederation, are the completion of the Intercolonial Railway, the admission of British Columbia to the union, the admission of Prince

Edward Island, the purchase of Prince Ruperts land, the Reil rebellions, the celebrated march of Wolseley to Fort Garry, the establishment of the N. W. Mounted Police force, now comprising a body of men, who are said to be equal to the finest troops in the world, the beginning and completion of the Canada Pacific Railway, the establishment of the Salvation Army from ocean to ocean, the rapid conversion of the Indians from paganism to christianity, the introduction of the national policy, the appointment by the Governor General in Council of Canadians to provincial governorship, the Repeal Question in Nova Scotia, the half century celebration of the Queen's reign, and the greater one at the close of her sixty years rule, &c.

The Canada Pacific Railway has linked the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, and at every station between the two great seas, the Union Jack floats in peaceful triumph. The Bible has steadily marched beside the flag, and beneath its proud folds has been instructing the settlers, in their duty to one another, to their God and to other nations and peoples.

During Her Majesty's reign England has built 22,000 miles of railway, at an expense of \$4,000,000,000. The United States of America have built 170,000 miles of railway, costing ten billion dollars. India has built 34,000 miles;

Cape Colony has constructed 8,000 miles of railway, and the British North American provinces and the Dominion nearly 15,000 miles of railroad. The United States of America have had over a dozen Presidents since the coronation day of Queen Victoria. When she ascended the throne the journey across the Atlantic took eighteen and twenty days ; to-day it is made by the ocean greyhounds in a few hours over five days.

Prime Ministers since 1867.

In 1868, BENJAMIN DISRAELI.

" " W. E. GLADSTONE.

" 1874, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.

" 1880, W. E. GLADSTONE.

" 1885, MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

" 1886, W. E. GLADSTONE.

" 1886, MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

" 1892, W. E. GLADSTONE.

" 1894, LORD ROSEBERY.

" 1895, LORD SALISBURY.

Greece may have created beauty and wisdom, and Rome power through the acquisition of a great empire, but England has extended wisdom and power and love with her ever increasing possessions, and over these possessions a woman rules, whom her subjects value more than all the Caesars together of Rome were ever valued by their subjects. The might and invincibility of the once great Roman empire could never bear

the least comparison to the might and invincibility of the British empire to which the great Queen has contributed so much. The favor of God has rested upon her and the light and love of heaven have illuminated all the colonial possessions. Her court has been pure, her rule wise and her aim peace. Her life and her reign have brought untold blessings to Great Britain and the empire. And the result of such a reign to the world, who can tell !

Whatever were the feelings of Nova Scotians thirty years ago, and whatever those feelings may be to-day, not one in the province can be found who would cast a shadow of imputation on the Queen. She is loved as a mother as well as a queen.

The last thing in the Queen's reign connected with Canada to be recorded in this chapter is taken from a late London weekly, *The Outlook*, devoted to politics, life, letters and the arts, and conducted with unusual brilliance :

"Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal took his seat and subscribed the roll as a member of the House of Peers on Tuesday. It was all very quietly done and is dismissed in a line in English journals. Yet from that single ceremony may date a great development in the management of the empire, for the Canadian High Commissioner is the first direct representative of a colony to become a member of the Imperial Parliament."

If Imperial Federation ever becomes a great and leading question among British politicians

and the English people it is more than likely Canada will be the first colony invited to unite in the great scheme, and other colonies as they attain to the position of Canada will also be invited to cast in their lot with the Imperial Empire. Some have gone so far as to say that the leading colonies could offer no greater honor to the British crown than by showing a disposition to unite with England in forming an Imperial Federation in the closing years of Queen Victoria's reign.

If, however, a change is to be made, and a great federated empire is to be formed and supported, it will not be by the sole authority of a Canadian Parliament, and ratified by the Imperial Parliament, but first of all it must be supported by the confidence of the Canadian public.

The glorious cause of freedom, of independence, and of the country's constitution will not be handled alone by parliaments, without first seeking the will of the people, whose right it is to deal with these matters. The most sacred of all matters connected with the colonies will never again be trusted to parliaments, to conventions, to commissioners, or otherwise without the people's impress. Titles and decorations may be cast among schools of Canadian politicians and others, which may be found irresistible alike to weak and strong minds, but

through these the Canadian public will not be misled from a sense of duty to their country. In this free and enlightened age, no government even if supported by a combination of dukes, lords and baronets, will be allowed to violate the constitution or usurp the powers of the people. So long as the Canadian constitution continues to grow and alter with the revolving years and changing times, it is hoped it will grow and alter to suit first and last the popular will.

Canadians, like Englishmen, are a proud people, in which reason has acquired the ascendancy over vain ambition, and they are not likely to be led away by the thought of contributing their resources to establishing a vast, controlling and perhaps a domineering power in the world, without first being fully convinced it will be beneficial to themselves and to the world.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Howe and Macdonald.

The loss of a statesman like the Honourable Joseph Howe to Nova Scotia is being more severely felt as time passes away. He is more and more being admired by all parties and all classes for his fearlessness and impartiality, for his strength and grasp of mind, for his dislike of mere display and for his consistent advocacy of liberal principles. All the great questions in modern polities received his earnest attention. He found time, too, for literary recreation. All his countrymen honour him for the earnestness and sincerity with which he advocated many liberal reforms which have been successfully carried out. It is as a reformer that Joseph Howe's name will be remembered by posterity. He possessed transcendent abilities and that genius which would have fitted him to become, had opportunities offered a great leader in the British House of Commons or in the councils of the most enlightened nations. And he will be remembered because he was a conscientious, practical and thoroughly accomplished statesman, who having chosen his vocation, gave to it all his thoughts and energies, and who died from

over exertion and anxiety in the discharge of the heavy duties devolving upon him.

For the course he had taken on the question of " Better Terms " for his province, he had been the subject of the most slanderous attacks and disreputable charges ; but he appealed to the whole course of his public life for the refutation of such charges. Both in public and private life Mr. Howe always evinced a sincere desire to serve the best interests of his native land. The mental character of Mr. Howe in some points resembled the Earl of Beaconsfield, and like that eminent statesman, sometimes a puzzle to his friends, and a puzzle to himself, he bravely fought his way to the truth. Mr. Howe, no doubt, after looking carefully through the leading men of the grit party of Canada, saw the only rising hope for Nova Scotia in Sir John A. Macdonald, a gentleman of distinguished parliamentary talent, of cautious temper and moderate opinions, whose abilities and demeanour obtained for him the respect and good will of all parties.

If the hope of Nova Scotia has not grown much brighter since the union of Howe and Macdonald, her course should now be perfectly clear ; there may be great difficulties before her and heavy and severe struggles, but she has only to be more true to herself, than to parties and party leaders, if so, success will infallibly crown her efforts. A success not equal to that she

would have possessed, if her union with Canada had never been accomplished, but a success greater than she now has, for to use the words of an Irishman, "in the union she has *gained a loss*."

It falls to the lot of every good statesman in the course of his public career to be maligned and misrepresented either by his coadjutors or the public. For thirty years Howe had proved himself an honest, unselfish, consistent statesman, and all now admit his death was a lamentable occurrence to Nova Scotia. His character during that period had been patent to Englishmen, Americans and the world ; but no one until his failure in the cause of Repeal accused him of duplicity. If they had his life would have given the lie to their assertions, as it does a quarter of a century after his death to the coarse and contemptable observations of those who should have been his friends when he was nearing the close of an honorable career. Some of those who denounced him in the strongest terms were colleagues and supporters of the men who opposed any concession to Nova Scotia and who strenuously and determinedly bound themselves together to hold this province to the union under the terms it had been forced into it. The citizens of his province cannot do otherwise than admit at this time, that his defence of Nova Scotia was manly and spirited, and that

not, till he saw his powers had proved inadequate to the crises, because the extraordinary difficulties of his position demanded something more than great talents and untiring assiduity. did he attempt to make the best terms he could for his province.

All must honor his name and the historians will honor him hereafter for his forgetfulness of self, his noble patriotism to England and his deep sympathy with his brethren in Nova Scotia. The people of this province looked to him to rescue them from their miserable position, and probably no statesman ever undertook a harder task at a more deeply critical juncture. And were he living to-day, there could not be found one, in whom Nova Scotians would be disposed to place greater confidence.

Ontario, Nova Scotia and Quebec statesmen who were the originators of the Union, and who knew they had filched Nova Scotia into the confederation against the will of her inhabitants, had the selfish satisfaction of witnessing on the floors of parliament representatives from this province, silent and assenting at the very moment when they should have spoken out boldly and earnestly in defence of their constituents. Time proves all things and to-day Howe towers above all those Nova Scotians as a Pyramid among Pygmies. Howe saw at that time what most persons see to-day, that after the Anti-Unionist

members had sacrificed the cause of their province for party purposes, in the Commons of Canada, that the fetters of confederation were more tightly bound, and there was only left one course, and that course was to secure better terms for his ill fated province.

What little he was able to accomplish was achieved in face of long and determined opposition: the deadly opposition of Canadian Grits and Nova Scotian Anti-Unionists. Mistaken Howe might have been regarding the deeply-rooted bitterness of his followers in this province against Confederation, but who believes for a moment that he ever intended to deceive his supporters to serve personal ends. And until his motives, in acting the part he did, can be proved not to have been in the interest of his countrymen, he must be admired for the unwearied assiduity which ever accompanied the noble efforts of his genius. If he made any errors, they were errors of greatness; his virtues as a patriot and statesman were almost unique. In the lamentable opposition he received from many of those who were formerly his staunchest friends, he scarcely ever evinced any bitterness, and when he did allude to the manner in which he was hounded during the campaign in Hants in eighteen hundred and sixty-nine, his words evinced nothing more than the outflow of that moral indignation which a nature so good as

his was, is first to feel, and which, with such overwhelming powers of oratory, he could not be expected to restrain. Some of those who opposed his return in that campaign, being young in years and experience at the time, have since deeply regretted the course they then pursued. To-day Howe lives deeper in the hearts of Nova Scotians than ever, while those who with malignant bitterness cruelly misrepresented him, appear to this generation as persons jealous and insincere, and who were never swayed by grand impulses. It is perhaps not well to return too often to the past, and to recall circumstances now partly forgotten, or the recollection of which survives only in a small number of memories ; but it will be well for Nova Scotia if the old liberal principles for which Howe long and gallantly fought are resurrected in all their purity. He was ever true to his principles and never allowed them to be swayed by Canadian Clear Gritism. A statesman who does not undertake the conduct of affairs from a sense of public duty, and from honorable motives, has not in his heart the principles of unadulterated liberalism, and no man who calls himself a liberal should give his support to such a man. When he does so, he cannot be actuated by a desire to perform his duty to his province or country. When the noblest sentiments and truest principles animate and direct political

parties, they encourage human intelligence in the paths of purity and progress.

" May days long past return again,
By all their hopes attended :
And strains of never-changing truth
In one fond union blended."

Nova Scotia never wanted a Howe more than she wants one to-day. She wants a leader who would be an able and trustworthy advocate of provincial rights and reform, and whose every effort would be unreservedly given to advance the pure and undefiled principles of liberalism. This province has borne too long with men, charged with the conduct of public affairs, who have proved themselves inadequate to the performance of the duty that devolved upon them, and who have appeared insensible to the feelings and complaints of the great electoral body. If this province could place at the council board of the Dominion a gentleman who, by his magnanimity of mind, by his far-seeing policy, and by his honesty of purpose, would excite the warmest sympathy of his colleagues, he would doubtless accomplish something more than has been accomplished for the province. Had Howe lived two decades longer, Nova Scotia would have always been near his heart, her interests would have been his interests, and her happiness his happiness. His years would have been devoted to her, as they had in the past. But

Howe is dead, and no one has risen to fill his place. Those in this county who were acquainted with Joseph Howe, and who worked for him or against him, will ever remember his finely touched spirit, his broad intellect, and lofty imagination and noble kindness of soul. He looked upon the follies and frailties of men during a political contest, as but natural, yet he strongly believed in the upward progress of mankind, and looked for a better day. He formed some of those true friendships in Hants County which like the shadows of evening, increase even till the setting of the sun. The kindness of his nature showed itself in the broad honest smile, as he approached all classes of his constituents.

He would take the shipbuilders by the hand with a whole souled grip, and talk with them about their magnificent enterprise and substantial reward, and to the agriculturists of their yeoman spirit and their power at the polls. To the working men of their honourable and prolonged toil in advancing the prosperity of the province, and earning an honest livelihood by the sweat of their brows, for themselves and their families. And in leaving their company, he would place his hand upon the shoulder of John, Pat or Sandy, and with a gentle tap or two remark to them, "You are the yeoman in whom the country must trust, and in whom I

must trust for my return. If you honor me with your confidence, I shall do my best for you all. I sometimes, my dear fellows, envy you in your manly toil, when I compare it with my drudgery. I shall always remember with pride my visit among you to-day." His visit was the theme of conversation among the men at the close of a day's toil. He impressed them as one of themselves, and by his off hand manner many a simple, warm hearted rustic was induced to give his first vote to Joe Howe.

Those ubiquitous and officious characters always to be met with in most polling sections, Howe had small opinion of. He quietly described one of those fellows as having the gait of a parvenu and the head of a weasel. There was another class he always cast a suspicious glance upon. These were the men, who to gain the esteem of their fellow beings, and work themselves into official position or parliament, scented vestries and churches and temperance organizations, and who when before the church and the world were just, honest and upright, but to use a Yankee expression, when not before the church or world, their walk was "slantandicular," and who would commit acts in secret-counsel that any open sinner would be ashamed of. These fellows he called hatchet-heads and shunned them as he would a rattle snake. The following words were once delivered in this county.

" When such a mixture of professed goodness and quiet cunning, help to confer place, profit and reputation, there is no saying to what positions such characters may aspire, and by what unmanly and deceptive acts they may attain their ends. " Why I met a day or two ago, one of this class, whom I really believe has the vanity to think himself a second Chatham, and fitted for acting the part of a second Sully. He flatters people to gain their confidence, and promises everything in the most pleasant and assuming manner. But you will live long enough to find out that his smile, his words and his promises are sheer hypocrisy. His concealed vice is countenanced by unsuspecting voters and cunning self-interested hypocrites. Watch his life and you will find it a vice which carries with it its own punishment. Such characters are good for one thing only, and that is to rate the profit and pleasures of position and office above the service of their country. You may call them Johns but they have the character of a Judas."

Seeing him amongst his constituents, gave one a better opportunity of judging of Howe's generosity of mind, firmness of principle and true manhood, than perhaps upon any other occasion. He is said to have converted a tory of forty years standing, in the following manner. He said to the workman, " of course I cannot expect

your support." "No, replied the toiler, 'my grandfather was a tory, my father is a tory, and I have always been one.'"

"And how long have you been swinging the broad axe," asked Mr. Howe. "For about forty years," was the reply. "And do you expect to swing it thirty or forty years longer, through the long days of fourteen or fifteen hours?" inquired Mr. Howe.

"I hope not," answered the hewer of wood. "Then trust in me," said Mr. Howe. The mechanic without looking up or slackening the least in his work, said, "I am going to try you this time," and he did vote for him on that occasion and always to the end of his career, leaving behind him a family of the staunchest liberals in the constituency.

Sir John A. Macdonald possessed this faculty of Howe, (the rare qualification of knowing how to attract men and hold them.) At a gathering which Sir John was to address were all sorts and conditions of men. The crowd was large. As soon as Sir John came on the ground, he started in to make himself known individually. It was at the great party gathering at Birch Cove. A group of persons standing near the outskirts of the crowd, saw Sir John slowly making his way through the human mass, picking up each individual on his way. The group watched the movement of his hat, which moved along at

an angle of forty-five degrees. His position could easily be located by watching 'is hat. As he approached the group, he stepped aside and shook heartily by the hand two ordinary looking men, saying with a smile, "I am pleased to meet you, we have a charming day for our turn out, I hope you have brought your friends, also to enjoy with us, this lovely afternoon. You have here one of the most beautiful spots in Canada. It is such a pleasure for me to meet my Nova Scotia friends. I often think of you all, if it is impossible for me to visit you often." He shook their hands in that way in which one man seems to convey his feelings to another and passed on toward others. One of the men said to his companion : " Bill I'm dashed if he don't know me." " Aye do he and me too," replied the other. These men really believed that he had seen them before, and felt that they were as good as any one of the party, and perhaps they were. And in reality were more worthy, than some present, who made much greater pretensions.

This rare quality, is seldom if ever found in irritable, narrow, jealous, vain and insincere men. Men who are never swayed by grand impulses, and whose friendships are not both of the intellect and heart.

By the possession of this gift, combined with their other great qualities, one can readily understand the fury of enthusiasm which always

greeted Howe and Macdonald whenever they appeared upon the public platform.

Their great qualities of head and heart, their deep interest in all classes of humanity, their splendid achievements, and their dislike of mere display so distinguished them from the ordinary public men, that the eyes of the whole country were attracted toward them. And their able leadership, their skill in cabinets and parliaments made the country ring with applause. And to-day when they are not present in the arena of party strife, their sound home patriotism and constant loyalty to Old England reflect a brilliant lustre on their great names.

The exertions made in Nova Scotia over half a century ago by Howe for government by the people and for the people, and the victories he obtained, are not exceeded in the brightest pages of history, and have filled all his countrymen with admiration and gratitude. Neither Howe nor Macdonald were political bigots, every great man has to suit himself somewhat to the time in which he lives, even if he see beyond the range of ordinary mortals. They would like to see mere party feeling driven out by a higher sentiment, which would unite as one soul all who love their country, and which would enable men to forget, largely, person and party, in their deep concern for the general interest of the community at large.

They would like to see new fields open, not for the display of eloquence, but for the utterance of that sound wisdom, which every broad minded and well informed elector values more highly. Howe and Macdonald were not without faults. They were human like other people. They had faults as most great men have had them, and as many ordinary men have had them. Their ambitions and necessities may at times have led them from the path of strict rectitude, but like well equipped and true proportioned ships, that by stress of weather occasionally fall off their course, in the main, point steadily and straight ahead. Like much smaller men, they may have lost their time, if not their temper, by sometimes indulging in an abortive series of assaults and repulses, but when any momentous subjects were agitating the heart and quickening the pulsations of the people, they took their stand far beyond idle bickering and party warfare.

The splendour of Howe's character and warfare renders the era of responsible government one of the most brilliant in Nova Scotian or Canadian history. He exhibited his firm liberal principles, in this country when in eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, he is reported to have said, as he quoted the words of Charles James Fox: "He held that liberty was the essence of the British constitution, the end of all govern-

ment is the happiness of the governed. I know of no way of governing mankind but by conciliating them ; I know of no mode of governing the people but by letting them have their own way. Mankind were made for themselves not for others." Howe was against confederation because the intelligence of his province opposed it, and were he living to-day he would be opposed to Imperial Federation according to his sound liberal principles unless assured by the direct voice of the electors, that a large majority of Canadians were desirous of a greater union.

His protests against the action of the Imperial Government and Parliament on the question of union with Canada, were long, strong and determined, and like Williams of Kbars, he only surrendered, when all hope and relief were gone. He understood the deep, broad principles of freedom, better than most statesmen of his time. None understood the Colonial system better, and if the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone had understood the Colonial system as well in eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, as Mr. Howe did, and as he (Gladstone) appeared to have understood it, when he delivered his great Midlothian speech in eighteen hundred and ninety-two, he might have acted differently when the petition of the thirty-one thousand Nova Scotian electors was before him praying for separation from Canada. He said in that speech : " Have we not scattered

over the world, a number of states, colonial in their origin, but which now have, in more than one sense swollen to national dimensions. Is it not true that every one of these is subject to the supremacy of parliament? And I want to know whether you consider that the supremacy is or is not a shadow or a fiction. In my opinion it is a real, overshadowing, controlling power—a power meant to be called into action should occasion arise, but with respect to which the prayer of every man is, that such occasion may not come, and will not come, and the belief of every rational man founded upon experience, is that such occasion need not come, and will not come. What I mean is the supremacy occasioned in that sense in which it imparts the smallest interference with the local freedom of such states as Canada and the Australian colonies."

When Mr. Gladstone spoke these words he was perfectly sensible of what the result might be, if the British Government and Parliament should interfere with the local freedom of any single Australian colony, as the British Government and Parliament interfered with the local freedom of Nova Scotia in eighteen hundred and sixty-seven.

Howe was always the friend and deliverer of his countrymen, and by no tyranny ever attempted to trample their rights under his feet. In his heart he must have despised those men

who were afterwards decorated for their perfidy, and who pretended and professed to be safe and authorized guides of the people, and who u their utmost efforts to deceive them and betray them.

Many at this time remember their brazen promises, uttered and echoed from one end of the province to the other. They told the people that whatever the losses of the province, the loss of its constitution, its revenue, and its colonial independence, whatever these were, it was to enjoy inestimable benefits that would outweigh all these a thousand times.

The people were to see Halifax harbor dot daily with thousands of masts from all parts of the globe. The granaries of the West would pour their wealth daily into the hatches of hundreds of ships. In ten years, twenty years at the most, Chebucto harbor would become the Liverpool of Canada or the New York of the Dominion. The farming districts of the province would teem with population, and their barns be bursting with grain. Ships would increase in demand, ship building would be revolutionized, and every county from Cape North to Cape Sable would boast of its increasing enterprises and its millionaires, and the Bay of Fundy would not be able to hold all the fish Canada and the North West would consume in a year. Such were some of the prophesies of

those men who were the makers of Confederation and the makers of themselves at their countrymen's expense.

Thirty years of Canadian Union have made it a fixed fact. Nova Scotia is linked to some of the provinces by ties of similarity and kinship, by common effort and common risk in the past. But her position in the great Union requires a Howe more to-day than at any other time for a quarter of a century to lead the Liberals of Nova Scotia independently and wisely among the Canadian parties, inspiring them with zeal first in the interests of their province, and leading them above the biddings of parties and boodlers, and of those who take their stand npon reversible platforms. No statesmen or politicians of any class can stand high in moral dignity and in true nobility of feeling who allow party and power-loving propensities to stifle or even to injure the highest principles of action.

For some reason which has never been satisfactorily explained, hostility to Nova Scotia lived in McKenzie as it did in Blake. It must have been galling indeed to the illustrious son of Nova Scotia, who had disciplined under the commanding influence of his character the public spirit of his province, to see men calling themselves Liberals form an all-powerful unity with those men who doggedly opposed any relief to the land in which his greatest interests were

enwrapped. These men hated the independence of Howe, because they well knew it weakened their power. They were wanting in moral strength, which is the true greatness of a nation, a people, a party, or an individual.

Howe was wise enough to perceive that it would be too much to expect that party would, as a rule, place any interests, even those of country, above the interests of the party, especially a party hungry for place. He knew that those who tightly embrace party superstitions are unable to consider political questions on their merits. The spirit of party and place seemed to animate and control all the counsels of the opposition in the first parliament of the Dominion. It may not be necessary under present conditions to do away with party, but it is necessary in the interest and honor of every civilized country to have a number of honest, intelligent and independent men to hold the balance of power between parties. When this happy state of things comes to pass, deception, jobbery and corruption in high places must cease.

Sir John A. Macdonald was returned to power during the commercial union and unrestricted reciprocity agitation by the independent liberal vote of the country. And after his demise the independent liberal vote assisted Mr. Laurier to power. The present conservative government

of Great Britain rode into place and power on the vote of the independent liberals of that country.

Fifty years ago in France there were quite a few of those intelligent independent men. The splendid example of such persons as Bosquet, helped to bring about a free form of government in that country. Bosquet by his independence of action, his cool judgment and firm will, when the revolution of eighteen hundred and forty-eight broke out was among those in the upper grades of the French army to pronounce distinctly for the Republic. And when Louis Napoleon put the "yes or no" to France, General Bosquet with all his division voted "no." This was true independence, it was heroic; it made him a great character in the army. And to his principle he held with a constancy, which, it must be admitted was somewhat hazardous. He was relegated to retirement as deep as Cavaignac or Emile Zola. He lived to have his gallantry at Alma and Inkermann appreciated by England and France, and crowned his career by the capture of the Malakoff, when he led the assault. Zola's heroism waits for no appreciation in the independent world.

Whatever faults Sir John A. Macdonald may have possessed, he has never been charged with enriching himself at the public expense. And this accusation has never been

cast at Howe. Both of these great men could have truthfully uttered the words of Clay in his farewell to the Senate in eighteen hundred and forty-two: "My acts and my public conduct are affairs subject to the criticism and judgment of my fellow men, but the private motives by which they have been prompted, they are only known to the great searcher of the human heart, and whatever errors—and I doubt not they have been many—may be discovered in a review of my public service to the country, I can with unshaken confidence, appeal to the Divine Arbiter for the truth of the declaration that I have been influenced by no impure purpose, no personal aggrandizement, but that in all my public acts I have had a sole and single eye, and a warm and devoted heart, devoted and dedicated to what, in my judgment, I believed to be the true interests of my beloved country.

Howe and Macdonald were never ambitious to be wealthy. They had no desire to use their high and important positions to gain individual wealth. They were also too great to favour the tendency toward making the acquisition of wealth the national ideal. They were fully alive to the fact that many nations have checked a sound growth by running too much after the Gods of the world. They had seen that the God of the Greeks was culture, the God of the Romans military power, and at the portals of their coun-

try the God of gold was capturing America, and neither wished the spirit of this God to get a strong hold on their countrymen. They could place a value upon the men upon whom England was heaping titles, because of their prominence in party, through wealth and through Government influence, when these were their principal commendations. Howe especially seemed to feel that a man who had been a real benefactor to his country, whether in culture, in military genius, in commerce, in wealth or in statesmanship, should crave no higher title than the gratitude and esteem of his countrymen. Knowing that he who craved more was giving himself away to an insatiable vanity and ambition unworthy of strong manhood. Both Howe and Macdonald were pleased that Canada was quite freed from feudal traditions, great manor houses, and the law of primogeniture, and felt that this country required no other peers than those wise, active men in all grades of society, seeking intellectual advancement and the welfare of all classes, and the restraints of law, order, morality and religion. They seemed to believe that if the President and Government of the United States were given the power to create, by bestowing titles, an aristocracy of wealth in that country, it would elevate a class with such power as would in a short time seriously cripple the free institutions of that land.

Without the genius of Howe, by which he had impressed his fellow colonists to strike for their

rights, at a time when comparatively little was understood of colonial feeling and colonial government in England, it possibly might have been years later before the people of Nova Scotia would have enjoyed the full benefits of responsible government. His genius carried the people with it, and called forth from a state of things almost worn out, that liberty of opinion the electors of this province enjoyed until the British Parliament passed the British North America Act.

In their manner Howe and Macdonald were as far removed from the pretentious aristocrat as a common sense man from a fop. These noble minded men could enter the peasant's cottage, or a log cabin, no matter how humble its occupants, just as pleasantly, as happily, and as courteously as they could the drawing room of the wealthy, or the reception room of a palace.

Like Lincoln, Howe was able to be at ease and at home everywhere. They were the same men, as they mingled amongst those who were rich or those who were poor. Tinsel and title and courtly recognition could not turn heads, so well balanced and so well stored.

Sir John Macdonald has recognized in the man of color, a friend and brother, and has been known to step aside while conversing with high state officials, and grasp the hands of these sons of Ham. And Howe has performed a thousand

times similar manly acts. A story is told of Howe during one of his canvassing tours in Hants. He called to see an old darky, who was at the time engaged in scraping pitch from the planks of a ship in construction. He invited the colored voter to come down from his place and shake hands.

"Oh, Massa Howe," said Joshua Boen, "my hand be too dirty fo' you to clutch," but I's gwan to gub you a clean wote." "Joshua, my dear fellow," "I wont have your vote without you also give me your hand, it is only soiled with honest toil."

Joshua descended, and as he approached Howe, his face lit up with an immense smile and shining like polished ebony in the sunshine, extended his hand, saying: "Well; well; Massa Howe, if you muss, you muss," Howe clinched his hand, and shook it, as only a true man shakes the hand of another.

This incident brings to mind a story told of Lincoln, which may not be considered out of place, if repeated here.

In the year eighteen hundred and sixty-three, at a public reception given at the White House, Washington, a young English nobleman was being presented to the President, when just inside the door stood an honest faced old farmer, who shrank from the pressing crowd, until he and the plain faced old lady clinging to his arm

were pressed to the wall. The President being tall, could look over the heads of the assembly, said to the Englishman ; " Excuse me, my Lord, there's an old friend of mine." Passing to the door Mr. Lincoln said, as he grasped the old farmer's hand : " Why John I'm glad to see you, I haven't seen you since you and I made rails for old Mr.—— in Sangamon county in eighteen hundred and forty-seven. How are you ?

The old man turned to his wife with quivering lips, and without immediately replying to the salutation said : " Mother he is just the same old Abe !"

A man, who has attained high official position or high social distinction, and who feels himself greatly elevated above his former associates and friends, and puts on frills of vast superiority, and looks upon the ordinary class of humanity, as a vain aristocrate upon his tenantry is more of a human thing than a man.

The unbalanced statesman, and the political upstart who strut about among their supporters from day to day passing and repassing all those persons who are not classified with the tones and elite, so-called, of society, without a nod or smile or manly recognition of them, is as far removed in true nobility of soul from a Howe, Macdonald or Lincoln as a vain, giddy, thoughtless actress, is from the late Francis Willard.

There are, however, a few great men, who seem so constituted by nature, as not to be able to make themselves genial or off hand, and yet are neither vain or proud. Such individuals meet with the respect of the multitude, if not admired by the masses.

Petty prejudices, which are the ruin of some minds, will not linger with those who study the lives of Howe and Macdonald, in that broad and benevolent spirit which has been the companion of liberty in all ages. It is undoubtedly true, that there are lives of the past over which we can linger with intense interest and feeling, and the farther removed the lives of such eminent men as Howe and Macdonald are, the more intense the interest in them becomes. And why is it so? It is not because such lives represent grand and enduring acts? The thoughts and words of such men are ever enduring and always have a magnetic attraction. Our minds seem to go out toward those great men who have lived before us, and we like to learn what they thought and how they acted, and to know what they have transmitted to those who come after them.

The best testimonial anyone, or all, can raise to Howe and Macdonald is to acquire a thorough knowledge of their deeds, and casting all prejudice to the winds act in a spirit similar to that by which they were influenced. They are gone

but their acts and records remain. Though dead their lives continue to speak. Their memories are cherished by all. Their deeds were unselfish and unsurpassed. Their names are unfading and undying. And in every colony of the Great Empire, their lives will continually be read, studied and remembered.

And all will learn how, each, in his own way, evoked and aspired to forward the greatness and glory of the English colonies.

Macdonald passed away surrounded by the sorrows and praises of his countrymen. He lived and survives in their hearts. Howe died with shattered friendships about him, and as the sun obscured for a moment by a passing cloud, reappears in all his glory, so with the passing away of partisan prejudice, the life and deeds of Howe are coming forth again in all their splendour and strength, and the love and gratitude of this generation are entwining themselves in all their freshness and strength around his honored name and deeds, as the ivy about the giant oak.

The millionaire will find a richer man than himself. The warrior who returns from fields of victory covered with glory may meet another surrounded by greater glory. The great statesman may behold in his rival a greater than he. But in Canada, Howe has no peers.

Joseph Howe was a great statesman because he was a great man. The secret of Sir John A.

Macdonald's power was not in great eloquence, nor perhaps exceptional statesmanship, but in his correct judgment of men, and in his extraordinary tact in managing a House of Parliament. He possessed qualities in an extraordinary degree necessary for a leader of a great popular assembly. His art was such as controls caucuses, councils and conventions, and at Charlottetown and Quebec it assured him of victory. With all the great efforts of other Canadian statesmen to bring about confederation, it is doubtful, without Sir John A. Macdonald's tact, whether it would have been as quickly accomplished as it was. Alike privately and publicly he was earnest and successful in winning over others to join him in the stand he took for, or against any important measure. His long rule in Canada was due to his extraordinary tact in managing his associates in government and his followers in the House of Commons. He possessed not only good humour but good nature, these qualities attracted and held his followers. The result of his death is showing itself in the party he led to so many victories.

Howe and Macdonald who were peers above titles, are not remembered as Lord Kingston or Lord Halifax, but simply and plainly as Joe Howe and Sir John A. Macdonald. Whatever may be the value of titles in the mother land, they are about as useful to Canadian statesmen

as a cocked hat and a court uniform would have been to Abraham Lincoln when he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. The spirit of Howe is abroad in Nova Scotia and is beginning to animate anew the people of the province to a true sense of their duty. Surrounded by the influence of his spirit, they are now studying the many instances of indifferences, if not of incapacity, of many of the men they have sent to represent them, and feel that if Nova Scotia is to attain a first and favoured place among the Canadian provinces, this can only be accomplished by an honest, independent and firm exercise of the talents and powers of the men they elect to represent them in the general parliament.

The people are beginning to realize this truth, that about nine-tenths of the thoughts and energies of Canadian governments, and local governments also, have been and are devoted to the one end of keeping themselves in power. They are now beginning to see that this is the beginning, end and almost all of Canadian and provincial politics. They are realizing that Howe's words were prophetic when he said: Confederation means the ruin of Nova Scotia's trade in her natural market, the United States, and out of the union there are ten chances to obtain closer trade relations with the United States to one in confederation. It is well to remember that it

has been in successful opposition to unyielding personal and combined interest that has given the people of England their liberty and independence.

A system seems to be pretty well established in Canada which makes the interests of party paramount to the general welfare. The dealing with contractors, the reduction of the national debt, the lessening of the annual expenditure, and settlement of tariff disputes have been turned into a mere sparring match of politicians simply for points.

If this was the system as was charged, upon which the Conservative party rested, it would also appear to be the system upon which the Grit party is resting. These were never Howe's principles, hence they are not in accord with the views of the true Liberals of the country. Party politics in Canada are rapidly following on the American line.

Another Macdonald would be of great benefit to the Conservative party, and a Howe an untold blessing to the country.

It has been beautifully said that "in common with the wondrous three—Burke, Pitt and Fox—Sheridan is one of the immortals ruling our spirits from their urns."

And while the political laurels of Howe and Macdonald will never wither while the English language lasts and Canada endures. It should

be the fervent prayer of all who cherish sound liberal principles and profound patriotism, that their immortal spirits may be abroad in the land to rule and guide the mighty electorate of the Dominion as it approaches the ballot boxes of the country, at each successive contest.



ADDENDA.

Since the closing chapter of this book was written, events between England and the United States seem to be shaping for a closer friendship between the two countries. Such friendship must result not only in inestimable benefit to the nations immediately concerned, but must give a wonderful impetus to the progress of civilization, to political freedom, and to the improvement of the material condition of the masses over the whole world. The collision between the despotism of Spain and the freedom of America has forced these events to the front.

The councils of prudence and the maxims of good policy of the Anglo-Saxon race would be the greatest incentive to the extension of civilization and apostolic christianity the world has yet seen. When the might and majesty of a race that acknowledges no superior but the God of Battles are called upon to illustrate and maintain themselves, the powers of the world must tremble. The God of Battles that sits above the storm has heard the cry of Cuba, and has ordained that a wing of the Anglo-Saxon people shall go over and help her while in the throes of emancipation after a century of bondage. Liberty cannot sit enthroned with ease, while tyranny lurks at her gates.

The splendour of the Anglo-Saxon character is unique, what that character has accomplished throughout the present century, is but an illustration of what it may perform in the next. The time appears to be quite near, if not already at hand when nations will no more be allowed to tyrannize over their colonial subject, than parents in well regulated communities are allowed to ill treat their children. The attempted government of Cuba has for many years been a disgrace to humanity. A close alliance between America and England would mean the relegation of the strongest of the outside nations to the position of a second class power. And a combination of all such nations could not ultimately succeed in a struggle with the people composing a British-American coalition.

Canada can do, and is doing much through her people and through both her political parties to strengthen the bond of friendship between England and America. To Nova Scotia, commercially speaking, five years of close trade relations with the New England States would be of more benefit than a quarter of a century of confederation.

The consummation of a British-American alliance would be the entire ruin of the business of the American tail-twisters on the one hand, and on the other of that interesting class called Canadian jingoes, who have advocated Chinese

walls, commercial union, unrestricted reciprocity and preferential tariffs, as though these were the only things the Dominion required.

The prophecy of the Hon. Joseph Howe uttered at Detroit thirty-two years ago, seems nearing fulfilment.

"Why should not these three great branches of the family flourish under different systems of government, it may be, but forming one grand whole, proud of a common origin, and of their advanced civilization? The clover lifts its trefoil leaves in the evening dew. Yet they draw their nourishment from a single stem. Thus distinct, and yet united, let us live and flourish. Why should we not? I see around the door the flags of the two countries. United as they are there, I would have them draped together fold within fold and let

"Their varying tints unite,
And form in heaven's light
One arch of peace."

If it be decreed by the God of Battles that the three great branches of the Anglo Saxon race are to be united under the Stars and Stripes of America and the Red Cross flag of England, the nations and peoples composing these branches will step into the twentieth century with triumphant acclaim, and in passing through its years, surround their march with the most brilliant and glorious periods in the history of the world.

The rulers of these three branches of the Anglo Saxon race directly trust in the God of battles, love and peace. The Queen of England acknowledges the true hand of providence in all the nation's triumphs of war, of peace and of righteousness, and President McKinley with the same implicit trust invites the nation's thanks and nation's prayer to Almighty God for the nation's victories. Britons, Americans and Canadians, in founding and extending their institutions have kept in view these words, "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Whatever defeats and reverses these nations have had in the past, have been to admonish them of their errors, and teach them wisdom. And that they cannot be happy, prosperous and enduring if they take great and controlling interest in extending the power of the God of wealth, or of commerce, or of party, pride and impurity. If successive rulers of England and the colonies follow in the footprints of Victoria the Good relying in full confidence in the Unerring Hand which guides the world aright, the growing greatness of the present, is but a forecast of the magnificence of the future. And if the people of the Great Republic continue to place the affairs of the nation in the hands of men like William McKinley, their votes will result in victories, honorable and enduring.

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